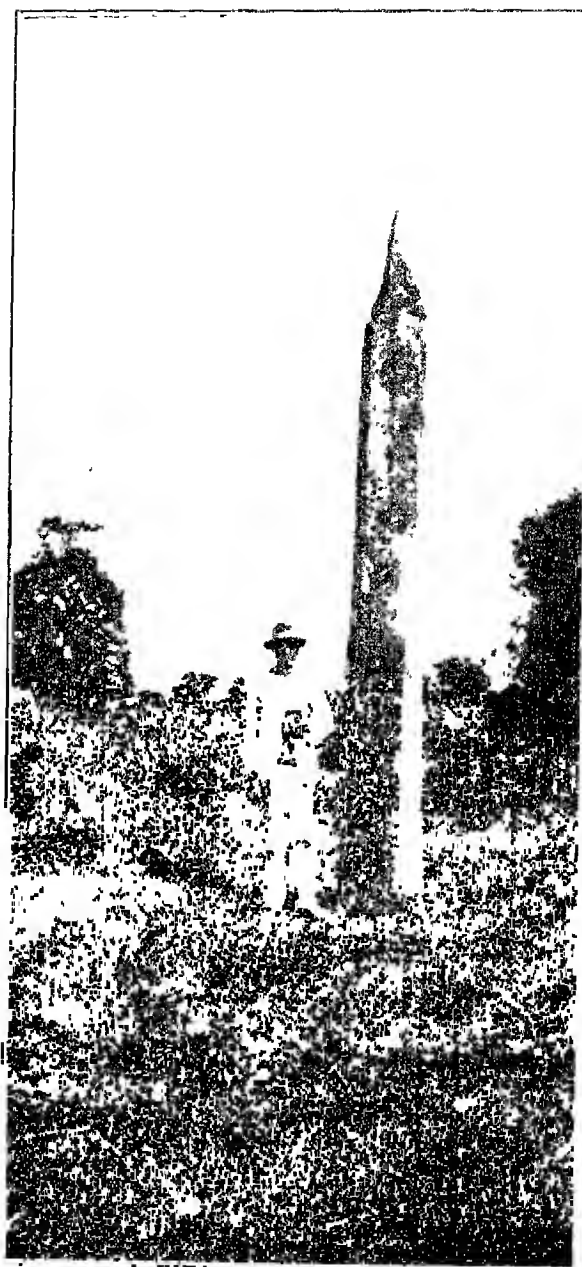


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No. 5

THE KADAMBA KULA



Talagunda. Pillar of Kākusthavarmma

THE KADAMBA KULA

A History of Ancient
and Mediaeval Karnataka

BY

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WITH A PREFACE BY

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P R E F A C E

Four years ago I had the pleasure of forewording a little brochure written by the author of this work on the history of *Mangalore*, by which many expectations were roused among the Indian scholars about the author's future historical work. To-day, when those expectations are fully realized in this history of *The Kadamba Kula*, I deem it a rare privilege to introduce him again to the students of Indian History.

The work of Mr. Moraes is of the greatest interest for the history of South India. The Kadamba Dynasty receives only a slight reference in the general histories of India; and has sometimes been regarded as of very little importance by authors not well acquainted with their history.

This work will show how important and how influential were the different branches of the Kadamba Kula, not only in Kārnāṭaka but even in the whole of Dakṣiṇāpāṭha, and at times even in Āryavarta. They were early acknowledged as independent rulers of Kārnāṭaka by the Pallavas, their former overlords. They allied themselves with the Gangas by family ties. They "reused the lotus beds" of the far off Imperial Guptas, as the Talagunda pillar inscription proudly records. The early Chalukya chieftains were their subordinates down to the time of Pulikēśi I. The enterprising Hoysaṣas of Mysore and the Paramāras of Malwa felt the strong arm of the Hāṅgaḷ and Goa Kadambas in many a battle. In fact they are styled the right hand of the powerful Chalukya Emperor Vikramāditya VI; and the Kalyāṇi and Anahilwada Chalukyas were proud of their marriages with Kadamba princesses. And if we pass from the civil and political field to the field of culture and civilization, we shall find the Kadambas propagating education, fostering literature and commerce, creating a new style of architecture which is the basis of the style of the Hoysaṣas,

and developing an original series of sculptures which was the first runner of that series of Buddhist sculptures whose artistic pieces are still the wonder of tourists and art critics.

The work of Mr. Moraes is not only the history of the Kadamba family, but a complete history of western Karnataka which was called Kuntala in ancient Sanskrit literature—from the beginning of the fourth century down to the middle of the fourteenth century. During this long period of ten centuries there were ups and downs in the annals of the Kadamba Kula; and even once this family totally disappears from Karnataka for three centuries. Mr. Moraes nevertheless has filled up the gaps in order to present a complete history of this period. He has divided his work in eight different parts corresponding to the eight different historical units which make up the history of the Kadambas. First he outlines the *pre-Kadamba history of Kuntala*, as a necessary background before staging the drama of the Kadamba family. Then he narrates the history of the *early Kadambas*, followed by the period in which we find the city of *Bacavasi under foreign domination*. The history of the *Hūṅgal Kadambas* and of the *Goa Kadambas* is then separately given. This is followed by the account of the *minor Kadamba dynasties*, about which very scanty information has come down to us. But the most interesting portion of the book is that containing the *internal history* of the Kadamba period, where the civilization and culture of Kuntala is properly estimated. The study of *Kadamba Geography* constitutes the last part of Mr. Moraes's work. Three appendices follow: one on the *Kadamba lion*, the dynastic symbol of the family; the second on *Kadamba Coinage*, while the third contains the recently discovered and still unpublished inscriptions of the Kadamba monarchs used in the course of this history.

Such is the plan of Mr. Moraes's work. As regards his method and criticism the reader can easily judge for himself while reading the following pages.

The work was submitted as a thesis to obtain the degree of Master of Arts in the University of Bombay and is now published in the hope that it will be a credit to the University, and an encouragement to further studies in history under its high patronage.

H. Heras, S. J.

Bombay, January 1st, 1931.

INTRODUCTION

The history of the Kadamba dynasty is the history of one of the most neglected, though in its own days one of the most influential, of the dynasties that ever held sway over the Dekkan. The origin of this royal line can be traced as far back as the fourth century of the Christian era, when during the confusion and chaos that followed in the wake of the southern expedition of Samudra Gupta, Mayuraśarmma, who was very probably a *daṇḍanūyaka* in the service of the Pallavas, asserted his independence. After Mayuraśarmma, there followed a succession of capable rulers who utilised their material and personal resources for augmenting the political influence of the family. In the 7th century however they were defeated and dispossessed of their kingdom by the Western Chalukyas of Bādāmi, but towards the close of the 10th century they emerged again as *mahomandalesvaras* and continued to rule the various parts of the Dekkan and of the Konkan till the middle of the 14th century, when the various Kadamba kingdoms were absorbed in the newly founded Vijayanagara Empire.

In writing the history of this dynasty, I have met with unexpected difficulties. Judging from the great influence the Kadambas wielded and the fact that they held the field for over a thousand years, I expected to find a large number of copper-plates and lithic records of these rulers. But after consulting all the works on epigraphy and archaeology and going through all the journals, I had to be content with a handful of inscriptions. This was what actuated me to undertake a tour under the guidance of Rev. Fr. H. Heras, S. J. through the Districts of Belgaum, Dharwar and North Kanara, the State of Mysore and Goa, with the object of learning the topography of the countries ruled over by the Kadambas, to study the architecture of the temples built by them, and to search for new epigraphical records. A large number of Kadamba inscriptions were copied during this historical excursion and over 106 photographs of temples, forts and coins were taken which enabled me to unravel the confusion made by previous au-

thors between the Kadamba style of architecture and the Hoysala and the Chalukya styles. The study of the Kadamba coins at the St. Xavier's College Indian Historical Research Institute, and at the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and a number of those collected during the tour was of great assistance to me in settling the chronology of many of these rulers.

I wish to acknowledge my deep indebtedness to Prof. K. G. Kundangar, Rajaram College, Kelhapur for the help he gave me so unstintingly by taking rubbings of inscriptions and deciphering them; to Sastri Bhavanishanker Sukhtanker, of our College staff, for the translation of the plates of Shashtha-dēva I and Jayakēśi I, and to Messrs. G. Bengeri and S. M. Karajgi of the Municipal High School, Hāveri, Dharwar District, for deciphering some inscriptions and sending transcriptions of others found by themselves. I am also thankful to my friend Mr. B. C. S. Sharma, M. A., for the help he has often rendered me while reading some of the inscriptions.

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PART I

Historical Introduction

CHAPTER I

Pre-Kadamba History of Kuntala

The Kuntala country which probably included the western Dekkan and the north of Mysore¹, has a history extending far into the early centuries before the Christian era. The Dēvagiri plates of the Kadamba king Kṛishṇavarmma I, which connect his family with that of the Nāgas, obviously imply that the country was ruled by the latter in the beginning of historic times². A few inscriptions of the 11th and the 12th centuries recount the tradition that the Nandas also held sway over this part of the Dekkan³. The conquest of this territory was very likely effected in the days of Bimbisara and Ajātaśatru and was maintained by their successors⁴. When however the Nanda dynasty was overthrown by the Mauryas, the Kuntala country passed into the latter's hands. Though there is no contemporary epigraphic evidence to corroborate this inference, the fact does not seem to be beyond probability. Indeed the Śravaṇa Belgōla inscriptions of a later period record the migration southwards to Mysore of Chandragupta, the founder of the Maurya dynasty, in the company of the great Jaina preceptor Bhadrabāhu and the ending of their days at Śravaṇa-Belgōla. But this King did not come down as a conqueror, having in fact abdicated the throne in order to devote his last years to a life of prayer and solitude⁵. An inscription found in the Sorab taluqua has it that Nagarkhaṇḍa "was protected by the wise Chandragupta, an abode of the usages of eminent Kshatriyas"⁶. But this epigraph

¹ Cf. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 3.

² Fleet, *Sanscrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., VII, p. 35.

³ E. C., VII, Sk, 225, 236.

⁴ Cf. Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 43.

⁵ E. C., VIII, Sb, 1, 17, 54, 40, 108; E. C., III, Sr, 147, 148.

⁶ E. C., VIII, Sb, 263.

being of the 14th century, much importance cannot be attached to its evidence. More reliable information however is furnished by the edicts of Aśoka¹; and their discovery near Sidhapur in the Mysore territory has established beyond doubt the fact that the Maurya Empire at this time extended over at least the northern parts of the Mahishamandala². But Aśoka is not known to have led more than one expedition and that was into Kalinga. It follows from this that at the accession of Aśoka, the whole of the above territory except Kalinga was already in the possession of the Mauryas.

Aśoka died in 232 B. C. After his death the break-up of the Maurya Empire forthwith began; and in a short space of less than half a century, the final destruction was accomplished.

The scattered remnants of the Maurya Empire in the south were gathered together by the Śātavāhanas. There were many scions of this family ruling all over the Dekkan from which we conclude that they brought the whole of the country under their rule.

After the fall of this dynasty, the Chuṭu family became the masters of Kuntala. They often styled themselves the Śātavāhanas, and possibly claimed some relationship with them. The inscriptions of the Chuṭu dynasty are, next to the edicts of Aśoka, the oldest documents found in the north of Mysore³. The first of these at Malavalli, in the Shikarpur taluqua, is a grant by Hārīṣ-putra-Śātakarṇi, of the Mānavya-gotra and Vinhukaḍḍachuṭu family, King of Vaijayanti, dated in the 2nd year of his reign. In this record the King issues orders to the mahāvallabham rajjukam, or the Chief Revenue Commissioner, that the village of Sahalātavi has been granted free of all imposts to Koṇḍamāṇa, son of Takinchi, as a Brahman endowment, for the enjoyment of the *mat-tapatti* gods⁴. In Banavasi itself there is an inscription of apparently the same king, dated in the twelfth regnal year. The king bears in this record the same name as in the Malavalli grant, with the only difference that he is said to have belonged to the Vinhukaḍḍadutu family instead of Vishṇukaḍḍachuṭu, which might lead us to conclude that the words *dutu* and *chuṭu* were synonymous⁵. The

¹ E. C., XI, Mk, 21, 14, 34.

² Cf. *Ibid.*, *Introd.*, p. 2.

³ Cf. E. C., VII, *Introd.*, p. 4.

⁴ E. C., VII, Sk, 263.

⁵ Cf. Jouveau Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 49. This difference may also be due to a mistake of the engraver.

inscription at Banavasi records that king Śātakarṇi had a daughter Mahābhōji Sivakhada-Nāgasiri (Sivaskanda-Nāgaśrī) who made the grant of a *nāga*, a tank and a vihāra¹, perhaps to the original temple on the site of which now stands the Madhukēśvara temple built in later times². The slab containing the sculpture of the *nāga* with five heads is still to be seen on the northern side of the *prākāra* of the temple.

We may infer from the two inscriptions above referred to, that Vijayanti (*i. e.*, Banavasi) was the capital of the kings of the Chuṭu family. This opinion is supported by the fact that this city is of great antiquity. We are told in the *Mahāvamsa* for example that the Buddhist teacher Rakkhita, was deputed to Banavasi in the third century B. C., shortly after the great council held at Pataliputra in the eighteenth year of Aśoka. Consequently, if Banavasi could be selected as a centre for preaching the gospel of Buddha, it must have been in a very flourishing condition, having evidently been founded much anterior to this date. It is not improbable that, Aśoka also sent his mahāmatras of morality to this city. For he says in his rock edicts: "Everywhere in my dominions the Yuktas the Rājūka and the Prādēśika shall set out on a complete tour throughout their charges every five years for this very purpose, viz. for the following instruction in morality as well as for other business"³. "The Lajūkas also who are occupied with many hundred thousands of men,—these too were ordered by me: 'In such and such manner exhort ye the people who are devoted to morality'⁴. "For as one feels confident after having entrusted his child to an intelligent nurse, thinking, 'the intelligent nurse will be able to keep my child well', so the Lajūkas were appointed by me for the welfare and happiness of the country-people."⁵ We have shown above that Kuntala formed part of the Empire of Aśoka. It is therefore natural that he sent his mahāmatras to Banavasi, which was presumably the capital of the southern provinces of the Empire.

King Śātavāhana of the Malavañji and the Banavasi inscriptions had probably a glorious reign; for even after a lapse of four centuries

¹ Buhler, *The Banavasi Inscription of Haritipata-Satakarni*, I. A., XIV, p. 334.

² Cf. Heras, *A Historical Tour in Search of Kadamba Documents*, J.B.H.S. II, p. 128.

³ R. E., 3, c.

⁴ R. E., 7, n.

⁵ R. E., 4, l.

in the time of the Kadambas, they remembered his name. In fact the famous Talagunda inscription of the Kadambas mentions a Śiva temple in that town at which Śātakarṇi and other kings had formerly worshipped¹.

The Śātavāhanas are often described as the Andhras and identified with the Andaras described by Ptolemy as a powerful nation, and also mentioned by Pliny². But the *Puranas* appear to give them the appellation of Andhrabhrityas or the servants of the Andhras³. Ptolemy also mentions Banavasi under the name of Banavasi, thus confirming the evidence of the epigraphical records that it was an important city⁴.

The Chuṣṇa-Śātavāhanas were succeeded by the Pallavas. Thus we conclude from the fact that the Kuntala country was acquired by Mayūrasarṇma from the Pallavas as narrated in the Talagunda inscription.

For the history of the Pallavas at an early period we are mainly dependent on the Prakrit and the Sanskrit records. Three sets of copper-plates written in the former characters disclose the names of Bappa-Dēva, Skandavarṇma, and Vijayaskandavarṇma. The Maṇḍavolu record informs us that Bappa was the father of Śivas-kandavarṇma⁵. We learn from the Hircabadagalli plates that Skandavarṇma performed the *Aśvamedha* or the horse-sacrifice which may imply that his suzerainty was acknowledged by several kings⁶. This King was very probably succeeded by Vijayaskandavarṇma. All that we know about this sovereign is that his queen was named Chara-Dēvi; and the heir-apparent to the throne was called Budhyankura, whose father is given the name of Vijayaskandavarṇma⁷. The latter is probably identical with Śivas-kandavarṇma of the earlier charters⁸.

The next notable figure among the Pallava kings is Vishnugopa, the contemporary of Samudra Gupta, who, according to the Allahabad pillar inscription, was defeated by the latter⁹. This brings us to the beginnings of the Kadamba dynasty.

¹ E. C., VII, Sk, 176.

² Cf. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 15.

³ Wilson, *Vishnu Purana*, p. 473.

⁴ Ptolemy, *Geographiae Libri Octo*, Pl. XX, p. 124.

⁵ E. I., VI, p. 84 ff.

⁶ E. I., XIV, p. 153.

⁷ E. I., VIII, p. 146.

⁸ Cf. Gopalan, *History of the Pallavas of Kanchi*, p. 39.

⁹ Cf. Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 13.

CHAPTER II

The Origin of the Kadamba Dynasty

The origin of the Kadamba family is enveloped in the mist of legendary tales. It seems probable that when the Kadambas emerged in the 10th century from the political obscurity they had suffered for three hundred years, they completely lost sight of their historical origin. Consequently to account for the rise of the dynasty in the early days, they invented various legendary stories, representing the progenitor of their race as a demi-god. According to one of these tales, the Kadambas derived their descent from the three-eyed and four-armed Kadamba, who sprang into being from a drop of sweat that fell to the ground from the broad forehead of Śiva under a Kadamba tree. This Kadamba who was cultured, with pure and high learning, beget Mayūravarmma, the subduer of the earth by the power of his sword, of his own arm and of his invincible armour¹. Another story goes that King Mayūravarmma was born to Rudra and the earth under the auspicious Kadamba tree. "As he was born with an eye in his forehead, the crown was not bound there as it would cover it up, but it was bound on him near his knee, where it would show well. As he grew up in the thick shade of a Kadamba tree, his family became the Kadamba family"². The same strain is echoed in a Jaina endowment of the Kadambas; but in this record Mayūravarmma is described as a son (?) of the sister of the Jaina Tirthankara, Ānanda Jinavṛtindra, born under the famous Kadamba tree. A kingdom, continues the inscription, was procured for him from Śāsana-Dēvi, and vast areas of forest land were cleared, presumably to bring this uncultivated land into cultivation³.

¹ E. C., VII, Sk, 117.

² E. C., XI, Dg, 35.

³ E. C., VIII, Sb, 262.

These are the accounts we find in the inscriptions of the Hangal Kadambas. The mythical origin given in the Goa Kadamba records does not materially differ from that of the Hangal Kadamba inscriptions. Thus for instance some of the Haisi and Degamve śasanas attribute the rise of the family to the three-eyed and four-armed Jayanta, otherwise called Trilôchana Kadamba or "the three-eyed Kadamba", who is said to have sprung from a drop of sweat that fell to the earth near the roots of a Kadamba tree from the forehead of the god Śiva after the conquest of the demon Tripura¹.

¹ F. C., VII, Sk. 28. It is interesting to note that the Pallava inscriptions mention a King named Trilôchana Pallava as one of their most illustrious ancestors. He is also given the names of Trinetras or Trinayana Pallava, Makkanti Pallava and Mukkanti Kaduretti. Rotherwells, *Nellore Inscriptions*, I, p. 39, II, p. 671. Cf. E. I., XI, p. 340. He is supposed to be the founder at least of the Telugu Pallavas (cf. E. R., 1915, p. 134, No. 56), and is described as having a third eye in the forehead, like Śiva. Ibid. He is also said to have brought some Brahmins from Ahichchatra and have settled them east of Tripurvata, where he found Vinagharas. 109 and 110 of 1883 and 247 of 1887; M. R. R., 1908, pp. 82-83. This emigration of the Brahmins to the south is also commemorated in some later Kadamba inscriptions as being caused by Mayuravarman, who after his retreat from Kanchi is reported to have settled at Tripurvata. Cf. below pp. 11 and 13. Now all the Pallava inscriptions that speak of Trilôchana are of the eleventh century. Prof. P. T. Srinivas Iyengar, in his *History of the Tamils*, p. 374, believes that he is "an actual King who ruled over tracts of the Telugu country"; and Prof. K. R. Subramania Iyer, *Ibid.*, p. 384, boldly states: "When a score of inscriptions, despite their late age, mention an ancient king with an extra eye we cannot brush them aside entirely as valueless". The number of inscriptions will never satisfy any impartial and sound criticism, unless there are other reasons for credibility. The fact that only the inscriptions of the eleventh century speak of this personage with an extra eye, who is supposed to have lived early in the fifth century (cf. Srinivas Iyengar, *o. c.*, p. 386) makes one suspect that he is a purely mythical person. It is worth noticing nevertheless that Trilôchana Kadamba makes his appearance in the epigraphical records more or less about the same time. Had these two legends a common origin or is one perhaps depending on the other? The fact that Trilôchana Kadamba seems to be a mythical personification of the historical Mayuravarman suggests that the story of the three-eyed hero had its origin in the west. The constant rivalry between the Kadambas and the Pallavas from the beginning of the former dynasty may perhaps explain how the story found its way to the east. Such a mythical origin of the dynasty from a Śiva-like hero was naturally envied by the Telugu Pallavas who had also declined much from the palmy days of the Pallavas of Kan-

An inscription of the Nagarkhaṇḍa Kadambas of the same period connects the Kadamba family with that of the Nandas. It states that king Nanda being without an heir, worshiped Śiva in the smiling Kailasa mountain for many days with the desire of obtaining a son. But as he knew that his request was not granted he was filled with distress; when as if to encourage him, some Kadamba flowers accidentally fell down as if plucked from the tree by an invisible hand. At the same time a heavenly voice assured him that two brilliant sons would be born to him under the name of the Kadamba-Kula, and enjoined that they should be instructed in the use of weapons¹.

These legendary tales, it is obvious, throw little light on the historical origin of the Kadamba dynasty. However they make one fact quite evident, namely, that Mayūravarman was the founder of the family, and that in spite of the wonderful accounts that have grown round his interesting person, he was an historical figure. Before producing contemporary epigraphical evidence to support this conclusion, we shall directly proceed to examine whether he was of indigenous or of northern origin, or in other words, whether he was a Dravidian or an Aryan.

There are many inscriptions of the Kadamba kings that seem to attribute a northern origin to the Kadambas. This is inferred from a remark in these records that Mayūravarman, whom they claim as the progenitor of their race, established his might on the summits of the Mount Himavat². But there is no contemporary evidence to support this view. A careful study of these records reveals the important fact that all the inscriptions that allude to the northern descent are of a later date, and that those of the early Kadambas contain no clues to warrant the above conclusion. On

chipuram. The insertion of a similar personage in their pedigree could ostensibly raise the Pallavas to the level of their rivals, the Kadambas. On the other hand the preparation of this interpolation was not a difficult thing, since no historical documents were used for the formation of such pedigrees. Moreover once the name of Trilochana Pallava would be introduced, it would easily be copied from inscription to inscription without fear of any critical arguing against him. Thus the name of Trilochana seems to have passed from the Kadamba inscriptions of the west to the Pallava inscriptions of the east.

¹ Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Kadambas of Goa*, J. B. B. R. A. S., IX, pp. 245, 272, 285.

² E. I., XVI, pp. 354, 360.

to the contrary, they afford no direct proof that the Kadambas were of purely indigenous origin. To begin with, the very name of the family suggests that they were the natives of the south. For the Kadamba tree is common only to the Dekkan.¹ Furthermore, the Talaṅḍia inscription of Śaṅḡavarman, which is one of the oldest Kadamba records, tells us that the Kadambas were a Brāhmaṇa family and they acquired the name of Kadambas by tending a Kadamba tree that grew near their house.² If this is a plant characteristic of the south, it follows that M. yārayama, who was evidently a later member of the family and who founded the royal line, could not have come from the north. Moreover the inscription of Kṛṣṇavarman I, which asserts that he was of Naga descent, plainly indicates the indigenous origin of the family.

Another significant fact concerning which I am studying the Kadamba inscriptions, is that the notion of northern descent was for the first time put forward in the 11th century of the Christian era. The earliest records to claim such a descent are the grants of the Kadamba king Harkēśari-Dēva dated in 1053³ and 1055⁴. This was followed by the *śāstas* of Kṛṣṇavarman I A. D. 1061⁵ and it was repeated in all the inscriptions of the later kings.

It is evident from the records of the contemporary royal families of the Dekkan that they also claimed northern extraction at this period. Thus for instance it was for the first time in the 11th century that the Hoysāḡas, who were a purely Kannaṭak dynasty, traced their descent from the Yādavas, who were northern

¹ It is indigenous to Sikkim, N. Konara, K. L. and, Chittdah, and Kurnul. It certainly is not one of the palms from which today is extracted, as Mr. Rice would have us believe. (*These Inscriptions*, p. xxviii.) In Mr. Lushington's *Veraculur List of Trees, Shrubs and Woods of the Madras Presidency*, April, 1854, 828, 103, it appears under the name of *Sarcocophalus Cadamba*, Kunt. or *Anthercephalus Cadamba*, Mill. Mr. Lushington describes it as a long leathery downy backed ovate-or-elliptic semi-lanceol Cadamba, and says that it is the wild *Cinchona* of the Mysore planters. (*Ibid.*, II A, p. 364.)

² *E. I.*, VII, 86, 176.

³ Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., VII, p. 24.

⁴ *E. I.*, XIV, p. 68.

⁵ *E. I.*, XIII, p. 173.

⁶ *E. I.*, XVI, pp. 354, 360.

ners⁴. It is therefore clear that there was a craze among the rulers of the south at this time to connect their families with dynasties from the north. The Kadambas who had just then re-established their power, after an eclipse of over three hundred years, conformed themselves to the ideas then obtaining at the courts of contemporary rulers, and attributed a northern origin to their founder. They however observed one important distinction, namely, whereas the other monarch identified themselves with either the solar or the lunar race, the Kadambas being Brahmans, avoided these extremes.

However it may be objected that as the Kadambas were Brahmans, they were finally of northern origin. It is nevertheless beyond doubt that after the Brahmanic immigration, even Dravidian people were received into the Brahmanic fold, a ceremony repeated centuries later by Mādhavācharya. The family of the Kadambas were undoubtedly among these Kanarese people admitted to such a high status in Hindu society.

⁴ E. C., VI, Cm, 137.



PART II

The Early Kadambas

CHAPTER I

Mayurasarṁma

The Talagunda inscription probably gives an historical account of the origin of the Kadamba dynasty. It is, in the words of Mr. Rice, its discoverer, "a realistic and true account of the Kadamba line of kings, free from current numerous legends regarding it"¹. According to this version, there was a Brahman family who were devoted to the study of the Vedas and to the performance of the sacrificial rites. They belonged to the *Manuvya gotra*, and their name of *Kadambas* was derived from the fact that they carefully tended a *Kadamba* tree which grew near their house. In this Kadamba family was now born an illustrious and learned Brahman named Mayūrasarṁma, who together with his *guru* Virasarṁma, went to Kanchīpuram, the capital of the Pallava kings, to prosecute the study of the Vedas. There he took part in a sharp quarrel with some Pallava horsemer, and being enraged at the treatment meted out on this occasion, and considering it a dishonour to the Brahmans, he, in the picturesque words of the inscription, "with the hands dexterous in grasping the *kuśa* grass, the fuel, the stones, the ladle, the melted butter, and the oblation vessel, unsheathed a flaming sword eager to conquer the world". Accordingly, having trained himself in warlike exercises, he easily overpowered the frontier guards and established himself in the almost inaccessible forests at Śrīparvata (Srisaillam, Karnul District). There he grew so powerful that he was able to levy tribute from the great Bāṇa and other kings, and caused much havoc by his predatory excursions. The Pallava kings of Kanchi took the field against him; but he could not be subdued. At last they made a compact with him by which he undertook to enter their service. Distinguishing himself by his

¹ *E. C.*, VII, Introd., p. 9.

deeds of valor, he pleased the Pallavas his master, who finally installed him as King over a territory extending from the *Amara* ocean (Western Ocean) to the *Pṛamāṇa* country (Malwa) specifying that all chiefs be obedient to him.¹

The observations of Prof. K. Chhorn on this inscription are not worthy. He is of opinion that when Kalyan, the composer of the inscription, states that Mayūrasarmma entered the service of the Pallavas, he seems to say that he became a *daṇḍanayaka* or general of the Pallava kings. This view he continues is supported by verse 3 of the inscription which describes the Kakkambar family as "the great lineage of leaders of armies (*samūh*)", and also by verse 22 according to which Mayūrasarmma was appointed by Śhaṭānana (the six-faced god or warrior) the meditation god Sēnāpatis, i.e., the general of gods (*dhātukēya*).²

It is possible that in course of time Mayūrasarmma, who is also styled Mayūrasarmma, "available to all of the confederates prevailing in the country after the southern aggression of Samudra Gupta and established himself as an independent ruler. For these events undoubtedly took place not long after the defeat of Vishnugopa of Kanchi, recorded in the Allahabad inscription of Samudra Gupta.³ It is evident from the inscription, that Mayūrasarmma soon grew sufficiently powerful to impose his suzerainty on the neighbouring kings. An epigraphical record found at the same village of Talagunda says that he performed eighty horse sacrifices.⁴ This number seems to be a little exaggerated after a lapse of seven or eight centuries. Nevertheless it may safely be maintained that he really performed one or perhaps a few more, which thus formed the historical foundation for the exaggerated version of the later records. This was indeed a great achievement, for it is well known that the great Gupta king, Samudra Gupta, for instance, performed only one. The eightieth year of an unknown era, called the year of victory, to which the Hala plate of Kākuri-

¹ E. C., VII, Sk. 176; P. I., VIII, pp. 33-36.

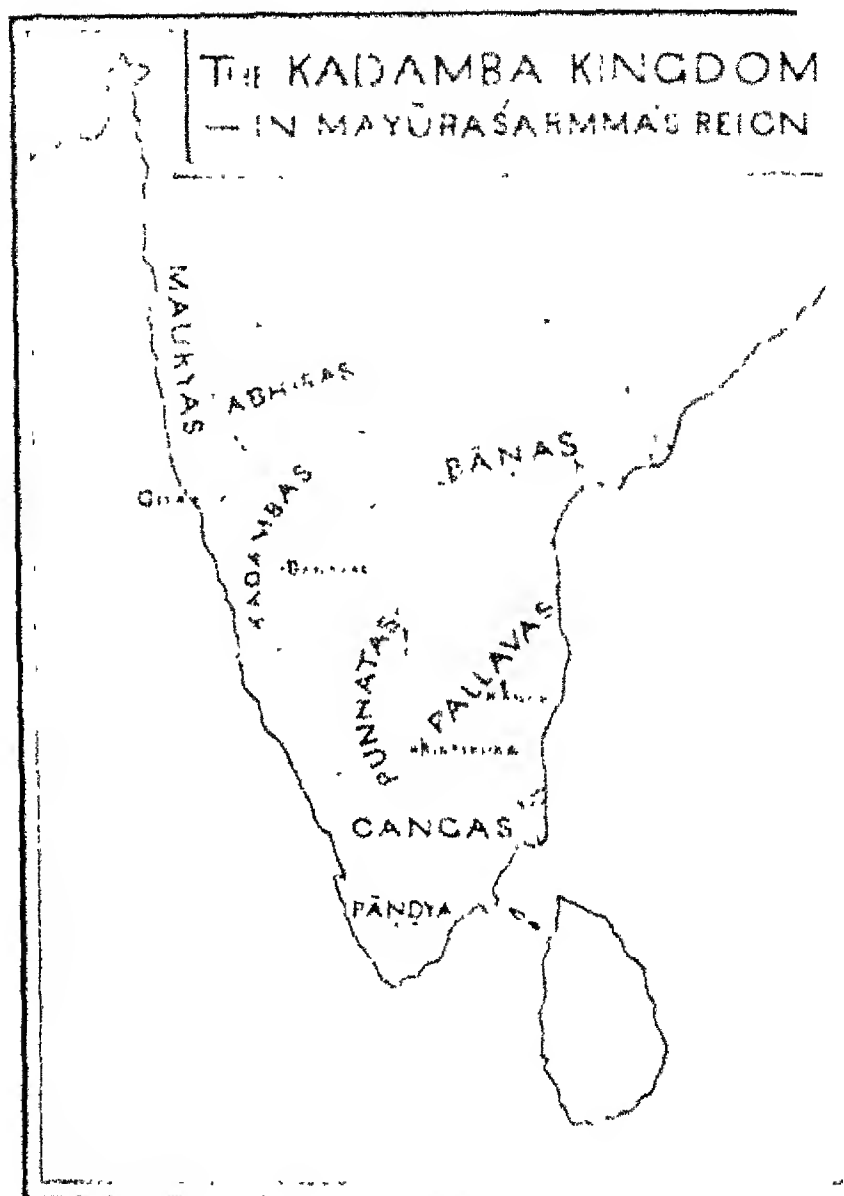
² E. I., VIII, p. 29.

³ In fact he is known by this name in the later Kadamba records, and accordingly we used this form when discussing the origin of this dynasty in the previous chapter. In the Talagunda inscription he is always named Mayūrasarmma.

⁴ Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 13. Cf. Jauveau-Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 99.

⁵ E. C., VII, Sk. 178.

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tha, Mayūraśarmma's great-grandson, are ascribed, probably began with the independence of the territories granted to the Kadamba family¹.

At the time of the performance of these *Aśvamēdha* sacrifices the King, if we are to believe the above inscription, granted 144 villages to the Brahmans of Talagundur. These Brahmans would appear to be the descendants of those whom, according to another record, his ancestor Mukkaṇṇa had induced to come from the city of Ahichchatra in the north and to settle at Talagundur, there being none at that time in the south. The same inscription remarks that Mukkaṇṇa Kadamba, "seeking with desire in the region of the South (*dakṣiṇā-patha*), and not finding any, without delay went forth, and doing worship to the Ahichchatra agrahāra, succeeded in obtaining thirty-two Brahman families purified by 12,000 agnihōtras, whom sending before him, he brought and established in the outskirts of the city, in the great agrahāra of Sthānugūḍha."² Obviously the Brahmans of the time of Mayūraśarmma were supposed to be the descendants of these colonizers from the north.

But this tradition of the emigration of the Brahmans from the north is lacking in sound historical basis. We have shewn in the chapter on the origin of the Kadamba dynasty that Mukkaṇṇa Kadamba, whom tradition describes as the progenitor of the Kadamba-Kula, was a purely mythological personage. Furthermore the story of the northern origin of the Kanarese Brahmans seems to have been propagated in later times and it has no sanction whatever in the early Kadamba records. Finally while asserting that there were no Brahmans in the south before Mukkaṇṇa, who was already in the south, and who invited them to come from Ahichchatra, this inscription directly contradicts the historical evidence of the Talagunda inscription that the Kadambas were a Brahman family; for if there were no Brahmans in Southern India before this event, the Kadambas cannot be said to be of Brahman origin.

¹ Fleet, *Sanscrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., VI, p. 23.

² *E. C.*, VII, Sk, 186.

CHAPTER II

Kaṅgavarmma

Kaṅgavarmma was the son and successor of Mayūraśarmma. We are told in the Talagunda inscription that he was forced to wage many and expensive wars¹. As the phrase "terrible wars" would suggest, these wars did not always prove successful. The chronology adopted by Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil leads him to the conclusion that the king of Kuntala who suffered defeat at the hands of the Vākāṭaka King Prithivīsēna I, was the Kadamba King Kaṅgavarmma. For according to the same authority King Kaṅgavarmma reigned probably between 360 and 385 A. D., and Prithivīsēna having ruled between 350 and 390 A.D. was his contemporary². This perhaps was one of his unfortunate campaigns, but it is clear from the same Talagunda inscription that Kaṅgavarmma was nevertheless quite capable of maintaining his independence, and he even kept his feudatories in subjection. The record states that his "diadem was shaken by the white chowries of all the chiefs of districts who bowed down (before him)"³.

¹ *E. I.*, VIII, p. 35; *E. C.*, VII, Sk, 176.

² Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, pp. 98-100. This also agrees with the chronology we have adopted.

³ *E. I.*, VIII, p. 35.

CHAPTER III

Bhagiratha

Kaṅgavarmma's son was Bhagīratha, "the sole lord of the lady the Kadamba land, the great Sagara himself, secretly born in the Kadamba-kula"¹. The inscription stops with this encomium and goes no further in the narration of events in the reign of Bhagīratha. Judging from the context however, it would appear that Bhagīratha retrieved the losses the family had suffered in the reign of his father and restored the kingdom to its pristine greatness. For the words, "the sole lord of the lady, the Kadamba land", "the great Sagara himself," "secretly born in the Kadamba-kula", are all fully expressive of this idea. "The sole lord of the lady, the Kadamba land", obviously implies that Bhagīratha strengthened and consolidated his kingdom so as to be the sole possessor of the territories of his ancestors. "The great Sagara himself", might have been used to describe him as a great conqueror, and vanquisher of the foes of the newly established Kadamba kingdom. The last part of the eulogy was probably intended to show that during the reign of this monarch the family of the Kadambas was raised to the status of a ruling power of the first rank. Indeed we will not be far from the truth, if we suggest that the historic embassy of Chandra Gupta II Vikramāditya to the Kuntala king², mentioned in the *Śrīṅgāraprakāśika* by the poet Bhoja³, probably took place in the reign of this King. For the dates assigned to these two monarchs

¹ E. C., VII, Sk, 176.

² The early Kadamba kings were the exclusive owners of this title. Subsequent to the defeat of these kings by the Chalukyas, it passed on to the latter.

³ Cf. K. Balasubrahmanya Aiyar, *A Study in Kalidasa in Relation to Political Science, Madras Oriental Conference*, p. 6.

make them fully contemporary with each other ¹.

"This embassy," says Fr. Heras, "appears to be one of the most suggestive events in the history of the Gupta Empire". The embassy itself, not to mention the personality of the ambassador, the great poet Kālidāsa, confirms the growing importance of the Kadamba kings in the beginning of the fifth century. "In fact," he continues, "we do not know of any embassy of the Kadambas to the Gupta sovereigns". Chandra Gupta, it is clear from the Gupta inscriptions, was himself a powerful monarch. He had become the undisputed master of eastern Malwa and Gujerat ², and his absolute sovereignty had been acknowledged even in Saurashtra ³. He had also extended his dominions across the Indus ⁴. Furthermore the fact that the Gupta Samvat was officially accepted in the kingdom of Nepal ⁵ is a clear proof that the sphere of his influence extended to the northern extremity of India. Now this same Chandra Gupta sends an embassy to the lord of Kuntala, the Kadamba King Bhagiratha. Nothing more is needed therefore, to attest the growing importance of the Kuntala sovereigns ⁶.

Further information about this embassy is furnished by Hēma-chandra in his work entitled, *Aucityavicāracarcā*. The author of this work quotes the following verses from Kālidāsa: -

इह निवसति मेरुः शेखरः क्षमाधराणा-
मिह विनिहितभाराः सागराः संपतन्ति
इदमहिपतिभोगस्तम्भ विश्राजमानं
धारणितलमिहैव स्थानमस्मद्विधानाम् ।

(Here rests Meru, the crest of the mountains,
And moreover there are seven oceans whose burdens are
put down here;

¹ Cf. Fleet, *Summary of Results for the Gupta Era*, I. A., XVII, p. 383 ff., Banerji, *The Chronology of the Later Imperial Guptas*, A. B. I., I, pp. 67-80. The date now assigned to Chandra Gupta, is A. D. 380-413-14. Bhagiratha according to the chronology we have adopted ruled from 380-420.

² Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 25, 32, 36.

³ Bana, *Harsha Charita*, p. 194. (*Oriental Translation Fund Edition*); Thomas, *Gupta Records*, p. 15.

⁴ Fleet, o. c., p. 141.

⁵ Cf. I. A., IX, p. 173 ff.; XIV, p. 345.

⁶ Heras, *Relations between Guptas, Kadambas and Vakatakas*, J. B. O. R. S., XII, p. 459.

This surface of the earth here shining on the support, viz. the coils of the lord of the serpents

Indeed is a fit place for people like ourselves.)

Hemachandra commenting on this writes:—"In this verse Kālidāsa, though the ambassador of a mighty King, on a mean place, not having got a seat corresponding to the honour and dignity befitting his own lord, being forced by circumstances seated only on the ground, with ready self-consciousness and depth of mind shows how fitting a place for people like him the very ground is, being the throne of the earth, (which is) immovable on the surface of the coils of the lord of the snakes; because just there the Meru, the overlord of the mountains, has seated himself, and so did the seven great oceans. There is a real similarity between them and us." ¹

The fact to be noted here is that the Kadamba King Bhagīrata did not offer Kālidāsa the place of honour befitting the King, he represented. This event which seems to have been purposely intended by Bhagīrata, confirms our view that the Kadamba power was at this time in its ascendancy.

In the two treatises mentioned above we have no clue whatsoever as to the real nature of this embassy. Yet a careful consideration of the events connected with the reign of Chandra Gupta II, may throw some light on this moot point. We know that this King, unlike his predecessors, embarked on a policy of forming dynastic marriages. Thus we see him marrying his daughter Śrī Prabhāvatī Gupta to Rudrasēna, the Vākātaka King ². This fact, though it might be understood to mean that the Vākātaka King was desirous of seeing his family related to that of the Imperial Guptas, also testifies to the wise policy of Chandra Gupta II in gaining the goodwill of the neighbouring kings by such family connections. Chandra Gupta at this time was dreading an impending invasion of the Hunas ³. He knew quite well that the terrible onslaughts of these barbarian hordes would spell disaster to the Gupta Empire. He therefore wanted friends to stand by him in that dark hour.

¹ Hemachandra, *Auclyavicaracarca* (N. S. P. Ed.), pp. 30-40.

² Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 237, vv, 14-15; p. 245-6, vv, 13-6; *E. I.*, XV, p. 41, vv. 7-10, etc. Cf. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *The Vakatakas in Gupta History*, *Q. J. M. S.*, XV, p. 155.

³ The Hunas actually invaded the Empire towards the end of the reign of Kumara Gupta. Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 55, vv, 10, 11, 12, 14. Divekar, *Pusyamitras in Gupta Period*, *A. B. I.*, I, pp. 99-103.

Naturally the Emperor endeavoured to gain the friendship of the ruling dynasties of the south by establishing family alliances with them. One of these alliances was doubtless the marriage of Śrī Prabhāvatī Gupta with Rudrasēna II; another, we conjecture, was proposed to the Kadamba King through the imperial ambassador Kālidāsa. In fact the Talagunda pillar inscription seems to point to the same auspicious event when it says that Kākusthavarmma by means of his daughters raised up the family of the Guptas and other kings. In the words of the inscription itself, "the sun among kings by the rays (viz.) his daughters, roused up the beds of lotus, (viz.) the Gupta and other kings. . ."¹. The tone of the inscription is evidently too high for a king in a subordinate position. Hence it is but reasonable to conclude that this family alliance was contracted at the express wish and request of the Gupta sovereign, and that the Kadamba kings were equal, if not superior, in power to the imperial Guptas.

If this is granted, we may suppose that the embassy of Kālidāsa was mainly intended for the settlement of this delicate proposal. The daughters of Bhagrattha, if any, were most likely already married, when the proposal came from the Gupta Emperor. His eldest son, Raghu, seems to have died without issue, since he was succeeded by his brother Kākusthavarmma in 425. One of the daughters of the latter was therefore selected for effecting a union with the Guptas².

¹ E. C., VII, Sk, 176.

² Cf. Heras, *Relations between Guptas, Kadambas and Vakatakas*, J. B. O. R. S., XII, p. 459.

CHAPTER IV

Raghu

Bhagīratha was succeeded by his son Raghu, who also bore the title of Raghupārthiva ¹. The Talagunda inscription tells us that Raghu "subdued his enemies". It is likely that he had to quell the rebellions of local chiefs who had so long been chafing under the yoke of Bhagīratha, and made bold to assert their independence, as soon as the great King died. For the words of the epigraph seem to imply that Raghu, at least during the first few years of his reign, had to struggle hard to keep in its integrity the Empire he had inherited from his father. "The King Raghu of good fortune", so runs the inscription, "like Pṛithu, having defeated his enemies by his valour, caused the earth (*pṛithuvī*) to be enjoyed by his own race"²; and again: "His face (was) marked with the weapons of his enemies in combat with opposing warriors, smiter of enemies who withstood him" ³. That there had been combats during Raghu's reign is also confirmed by the Halsi grant of Kākustha, the brother of Raghu. According to this record Kākustha himself while "Yuvarāja of the Kadambas," seems to have been in great danger of losing his life in one of these fights. He eventually was saved by the bravery of a general called Śrutakīrtty, who was granted, on account of this heroic act, a field in the village of Khētagrāma ⁴. Evidently this battle, fought while Kākustha was the Yuvarāja, took place during the reign of his elder brother Raghu.

The inscription highly extols the personal accomplishments of Raghu. "His face," says the record, "was marked with the wea-

¹ E. C., VII, Sk, 176.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Fleet, *Sanscrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., VI, p. 24.

pons of his enemies in combat with opposing warriors, smiter of enemies who withstood him". It is evident from this that Raghu was a great warrior almost cradled in the art of warfare. He was presumably an eminent statesman as well. For we may rightly believe that it was his keen political insight, no less than his consummate generalship, that saved the Empire from impending disaster.

Raghu was indeed a truly successful monarch, and it ever stands to his credit that under the most trying circumstances, when external aggression, perhaps, and internal struggles, certainly, were undermining the foundations of the Kadamba Empire, he was able to hold his sceptre and by breaking the back of all opposition caused "the earth to be enjoyed by his own race"¹. He is presented as being the beloved of his subjects; and doubtless this was because the King had the welfare of his people at heart and took care to administer the country well. He seems to have been a man of exceptional learning and mental grasp², and of vigorous personality. Finally the inscription remarks that he was munificent³, which may be understood to mean that he helped the people when they were in distress and did not burden them with heavy taxes.

The Talagunda inscription, above referred to, does not say anything about the children of Raghu. Probably, as pointed out above, he died without issue, since on his death his brother Kākusthavarmma succeeded him.

¹ E. C., VII, Sk, 176.

² 'Being skilled in diverse arts and versed in the study of ancient lore'

³ E. C., VII, Sk, 176.

CHAPTER V

Kakusthavarmma

On the death of King Raghu, his brother Kākusthavarmma, who had been acting so long as the Yuvamahārāja of the Kadam-bas¹, ascended the throne of Kuntala. It may rightly be said that it was during the reign of this King that the Kadamba Empire reached the acme of its greatness. The Talagunda inscription gives a glowing account of the prosperity of the country under him. It calls him the ornament of the Kadamba family—one who had distinguished himself in fields of battle, who had won the esteem and love of his people by being kind to the needy, by protecting his subjects, and by lifting up the humble. People under such a monarch must evidently have been rich and prosperous, neither crushed by taxation nor harassed by state interference. This general opulence is attested by the inscription itself. "With their accumulation of all manners of essence of wealth, with gateways scented with ichor from lordly lusty elephants, with the sweet sounds of songs, the goddess of fortune contentedly (steadily) enjoys herself in his house for a long time"².

Brigandage was absolutely unknown during this memorable regime of Kākustha, and peace and order flourished to such an extent, that strangers, it has been said, who visited the country felt assured of the safety of their life and property. To quote the picturesque language of the epigraphical record: "As herds of deer tormented by the heat, entering into groups of trees, take refuge in their shade and obtain relief for their panting minds, so relatives

¹ Fleet, *Sanscrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., VI, p. 23. It may be presumed from the inscription that Kakustha was acting as the Yuvamaharaja at Palasika, when his brother was reigning as King at Banavasi. The inscription mentions the year 81 of an unknown era.

² E. C., VII, Sk, 176.

and dependents exposed to injury from superiors (*jjaya*) obtained comforts to their troubled minds by entering this country.

Kakusthavarmma was a formidable warrior no less than a wise administrator. The Talagunda inscription calls him, "the ornament of the Kadamba family," and "the sun among kings of wide-spread fame". In the Halsi plates he is styled "the glory of the Kadambas," and again "the Yuvarāja who enjoys the general good wishes of his subjects". It is possible that he extended the boundaries of the Kadamba Empire by annexing new territories. At any rate it is abundantly clear that the reign of Kākustha was the heyday of the Kadamba power.

The ascendancy of the Kadambas is also evidenced by the fact that this dynasty was united by marriage to other prominent ruling families of the day. Thus for instance a daughter of Kākusthavarmma was given in marriage to Narēndrasēna, the Vākāṭaka King of Berar. The Balghat plates of Prithivīsēna I say that this King was the son of Narēndrasēna, born of the Mahādēvī Ajjhitabhāṭṭārikā, a daughter of the king of Kuntala¹. The same inscription tells us that Narēndrasēna was the grandson of Rudrasēna II and Śrī Prabhāvatī Gupta, herself a daughter of Chandra Gupta II². According to Mr. Vincent Smith this marriage between Rudrasēna II and Śrī Prabhāvatī Gupta took place about 395 A.D.³ Monsieur Jouveau-Dubreuil supposes that the marriage of their grandson happened fifty years later, *i. e.* in 445⁴. The reigning Kadamba king at this time was certainly Kākusthavarmma and, it being possible that he had a daughter of marriageable age in 445, this daughter was married to Narēndrasēna.

A second daughter of the same Kākustha was wedded to a Gupta king. We have already had occasion to remark that the probable motive of the embassy of Chandra Gupta II was to propose a marriage alliance with the Kadamba King Bhagīratha and the Talagunda inscription bears witness that this alliance actually took place⁵.

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

³ Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., VI, p. 24.

⁴ *E. I.*, IX, p. 271, vv. 30-31.

⁵ Cf. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *The Vakatakas in Gupta History* *Q. J. M. S.*, XV, p. 155.

⁶ Smith, *J. R. A. S.*, 1914, p. 325.

⁷ Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 100.

⁸ *E. C.* VII Sk 176

This inscription mentions the event, but it does not give the name of the Gupta prince, nor that of the Kadamba princess. Considering however that it was Chandra Gupta II who made overtures to Bhagīratha to form a marriage alliance, some people might be led to think that he himself married the Kadamba princess. But against this supposition we have the undisputed fact that one of the daughters of Kākustha was married to Narēndrasēna, the great-grandson of Chandra Gupta II, through his daughter Śrī Prabhāvatī Gupta. How could two sisters be married one to Chandra Gupta and the other to his great-grandson? It is also impossible that the Gupta prince married to Kākustha's daughter was the future Kumāra Gupta, the son and successor of Chandra Gupta. For if we accept this prince as the one that married the Kadamba princess, two difficulties would at once present themselves. In the first place if, as Fr. Heras supposes, the embassy took place in 390 A. D. and the marriage soon after in 390-91¹, there is evidently too wide a gap between this marriage and that of another daughter of Kākustha in 445 A. D. with Narēndrasēna, the Vākāṭaka King. Secondly, if we suppose that the embassy was sent in 410 and the marriage took place in 411 or thereabout, there is still the difficulty of the age of Kumāra Gupta. He is believed to have died somewhere in 455 "at a very ripe age". This seems to mean that he died at the age of 85-90. Hence he was a fully aged man (between 50 and 55) in 410, when this marriage took place. Kākusthavarmma would not have, it is evident, given his young daughter to a prince who was already far removed from her in years. It is therefore not unreasonable to conclude that it was one of the grandsons of Chandra Gupta that married the Kadamba princess, and possibly it was Skanda Gupta, the successor of Kumāra Gupta. And as regards the date, we are more inclined to accept 410-11 than 390-91 as the possible date of the marriage. Thus there will be a difference of thirty years between the marriages of Kākustha's daughters. This is not strange at all, especially when considering the fact that the kings married young and had many wives, whom they wedded at different times.

¹ Heras *Relations between Guptas Kadambas and Vakatakas* J.B.O.R.S. XII p 462.

Santivarmma

Sāntivarmma, also known as Śāntivaravarmma, was the son and successor of the illustrious Kākustha. He is styled "the second sun" of the Kadamba family in one of the grants of his son, Mṛigēśa¹. The Talagunda inscription speaks of him as a King of wide-spread fame²; and it also appears from other inscriptions that he maintained the glory of the Kadamba Empire undiminished. In fact we have indications in Śāntivarmma's epigraphical records of his having annexed new territories to the already extensive dominions of the Kadambas. For the same Talagunda inscription tells us that he was adorned with the acquisition of three crowns, which might justly be taken to mean that he either defeated or imposed his suzerainty over three neighbouring petty kings. This fact is also corroborated by a statement in an inscription of Vishnuvarmma that Śāntivarmma Dharmma-mahārāja was "the master of the entire Karṇāṭa region of the earth, adorned by Vaijayanṭi, which was glorious with eighteen chieftains (most likely subordinate petty chiefs), enriched with the swift spoils of war"³. The grant of Mṛigēśa, above referred to, strikes the same note when it says: "The goddess of fortune of his enemies was enticed by him from their abodes"⁴.

From all this we may rightly conclude that the Kadamba kingdom at this time continued to be as prosperous and rich as in the days of the victorious Kākusthavarmma. The King must have gained

¹ Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., VI, p. 25

² *E. C.*, VII, Sk, 176.

³ *E. C.*, VI, Kd, 162.

⁴ Fleet. I. c.

the love of his subjects by adopting a wise system of administration and instituting works of charity. The latter is evidenced by the many generous gifts of Śāntivarmma. A long inscription of the time of his grandson tells us how Śāntivarmma rewarded the good conduct of his citizens. The village of Khēta, enjoyed so long by Dāmakīrtti, the royal priest, was on his death given to his mother as a reward for her piety¹.

Another inscription of Śāntivarmma states that he assisted at the opening ceremony of two temples built by Kannaya, and that he granted on this occasion a *mattal* of rice-land to the priest². These facts bear witness to both the generosity and popularity of Śāntivarmma.

During his reign, Kṛishṇavarmma, his younger brother, had been ruling in the capacity of viceroy over the southern provinces of the Empire. For the Birūr plates of Viṣṇuvarmma, while describing Śāntivarmma, the grand-uncle of Viṣṇuvarmma, as the "master of the entire Karṇāṭa region of the earth", clearly specify that his younger brother Kṛishṇavarmma "was sovereign of the southern region". Now the same plates record a grant made by Viṣṇuvarmma, during his father Kṛishṇavarmma's life. This grant was nevertheless made "with the permission of Śāntivarmma Dharmma-mahārāja"³. This evidently shows that the donor as well as Kṛishṇavarmma, the father of the donor, occupied a subordinate position under Śāntivarmma.

¹ Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*. I. A., VI, p. 27.

² E. C., VIII, Sb. 44.

³ E. C., VI, Kd, 162.

Mrigesavaromma

Mrigēśavaromma was the son of the Mahārāja Śāntivaromma. In his Hirē Śakuna plates Mrigēśavaromma is called "Śrīmat Kā-kustha's dear son's son"¹. The Dēvagiri plates call him simply the son of Śāntivaromma²; while his Halsi plates go a little farther and relate that he was the eldest son of Śāntivaromma³. The inscription of Ravivaromma confirms this detail, when it says that his (Śāntivaromma's) eldest son was king Mrigēśa, who "was possessed of renowned and wide-spread fame"⁴.

Mrigēśavaromma is variously styled in the inscriptions as Śrī-vijayaśiva Mrigēśavaromma, Mrigēśavaromma, Śrī Mrigēśa or simply Mrigēśa.

It would appear from the epigraphical records that soon after the death of Śāntivaromma there took place a division of the Kadamba dominions, which till now had embraced an extensive Empire. In fact the Dēvagiri plates of Yuvarāja Dēvavaromma call his father Kṛishṇavaromma, "the pious great King", "the pious great King of the Kadambas", "who celebrated horse-sacrifices", "who was a very jewel among chieftains and excellent kings, who enjoyed a heritage that was not to be attained by persons of Nāga descent"⁵. These *blatulas* as well as the fact that the inscription does not mention any overlord, as the Birūr inscription of Vishnuvaromma commented upon in the preceding reign, clearly show that Kṛishṇavaromma had by this time set up as an independent sove-

¹ E. C., VII, Sh. 33.

² Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., VII, p. 36.

³ Ibid., VI, p. 25.

⁴ Ibid., p. 29.

⁵ Ibid., VII, p. 34.

reign. When this independence was obtained we are not able to say. But it will not be a hasty statement to affirm that no better time for renouncing the allegiance could occur than the occasion of his brother's death. Perhaps one of his *birudas* in the inscription lately referred to, namely, "who acquired great wealth in battle", gives us a hint as to the breaking up of relations with his nephew Mṛigēśavarmma.

Thus it was during Mṛigēśavarmma's reign at Vaijayanti that the southern provinces of the Empire were separated from the Kadamba dominions, and were ruled over by the younger branch of the family, of which Kṛishṇavarmma became the founder. It is evident from the inscriptions of the kings belonging to this branch that their capital was the city of Triparvata¹.

A few inscriptions of Mṛigēśavarmma have been discovered which give us some details about his life and times. The epigraph at Talagunda, which was apparently intended to record some grant by Mṛigēśavarmma's Queen, says that "she was born in the noble Kaikēya family, her name being Prabhāvatī; she was the beloved wife of Mṛigēśavarmma Dharma-mahārāja, sprung from the renowned Kadamba family and the mother of Ra(vi) Varma Dharma-mahārāja." The inscription then praises her liberality to the Brahmans². We thus learn that Mṛigēśavarmma's Queen was a Kaikēya princess and that her name was Prabhāvatī.

By his marriage with this princess Mṛigēśavarmma united his own house with one of the oldest ruling families of India. The Kaikēyas lay claim to an illustrious ancestry. They have been mentioned as a powerful race in the epic poems, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*. They seem to have taken a prominent part in the war of the *Mahābhārata*³; and the *Rāmāyaṇa* mentions Ashwapati as one of their chiefs at the time of King Janaka⁴. This is the name borne also by the maternal uncle of Bhārata⁵. In course of time a branch of the Kaikēyas seems to have migrated to Southern India and established its sovereignty over a part of Kārnāṭaka. It was the princess belonging to this branch that was very probably married to Mṛigēśa.

¹ Fleet, *Sanscrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., VII, p. 34.

² *M. A. R.*, 1910-11, p. 35.

³ *Mahabh.*, V, 19; XII, 77.

⁴ *Ram.*, II, 9, 22.

⁵ *Ibid.*, VII, 113-114.

Mrigēśavarmma, deprived as he was of his southern dominions by Krishṇavarmma's rebellion against the Vaijayanti ruler was none the less a remarkably successful ruler. All the inscriptions that we have speak enthusiastically about his brilliant rule. The one of Dēvagiri says that he was "the great King of the Kadambas", and that the family of Kākustha, to which he belonged became in his time the lamp of the world¹. He is described in the grants of his son Ravivarṇma as a King possessed of wide-spread fame². And his own grants of Hītṇahebbāgila and Dēvagiri make it clear that the extensive wealth which he treasured was won by the strength and prowess of his own arm and in great danger of battles³.

It seems obvious from the Halsi plates of Mrigēśa that there was at this time considerable hostility between the Kadambas and the other ruling families of the day. The same plate records that Mrigēśavarmma gave great fear to his enemies. And this remark is fully borne out by the subsequent statement that he "uprooted the family of Tuṅgagaṅga" and "was a very fire of destruction to the Pallavas"⁴.

It is difficult to determine who the Ganga king was whom Mrigēśavarmma uprooted. There is no evidence as regards this incident in the Ganga inscriptions. Nevertheless one fact of the reign of Harivarṇma, who seems to have been the contemporary of Mrigēśa, may perhaps refer to the victory of the Kadamba monarch. Harivarṇma is said to have removed his capital from Kuvalāla (Kolar) to Talakād on the river Kāvērī⁵. This change of capital to the south of his kingdom could have been occasioned by an encroachment of his enemies in the north or north-west. As to the identity of the Pallava king defeated by Mrigēśa, it is still more difficult to decide, on account of the several Pallava branches made out from the study of the inscriptions. Mrigēśa seems to have been more or less contemporary with Skandavarṇma, whose son Viṣṇugopa is not given the title of Mahārāja, but only the title of Yuvamahārāja. This difference of title between father

¹ Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Kanarese Inscriptions*, I. A., VII, p. 36.

² Ibid, VI, pp. 27-29.

³ E. C., IV, Hs, 18; Fleet, o. c., p. 38; J.B.B.R.A.S., XII, p. 320.

⁴ Fleet, o. c. p. 25

⁵ E. C. III Nj 122. Cf. Rice *Mysore and Coorg* p. 33

and son may perhaps point to a defeat of the family in the time of Vishnugopa. Anyhow this King seems to have never ruled from Kanchi. Yet the war between Ravivarmma and his relation Vishṇuvarmma which will be spoken of at length in the following reign, may give another clue for finding out the Pallava king defeated by Mrigēśa. Vishṇuvarmma on this occasion entered into an alliance with one Chaṇḍadaṇḍa, who seems to have been a Pallava King². This name is nevertheless not found in the Pallava genealogy. He could have belonged therefore to another branch of the family. At any rate, his alliance with Vishṇuvarmma against Ravivarmma can satisfactorily be explained by supposing a former defeat of his army, or the one of his predecessor, at the hands of Ravivarmma's father.

In any case these two victories of Mrigēśa abundantly prove that he made good the losses he had sustained at the beginning of his reign by the rebellion of his uncle³.

Mrigēśavarmma was a wise administrator. He had, above all, the welfare of his subjects at heart and spared no pains in safeguarding their interests⁴. One of his copper-plate grants found at

¹ Cf. Jouveau-Dubreuil, *The Pallavas*, p. 15.

² Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., VI, p. 30.

³ In the Daulatabad plates of Jagadekamalla (A. D. 1017), Jayasimha I, the founder of the Chalukya dynasty, is styled "the destroyer of the pomp of the Kadambas". *Hyderabad Archeological Series*, No. 2, p. 4. But the early records referring to Jayasimha that have hitherto been discovered, contain no allusion to any such event, and do not attribute any specific victories to him. Nor is his name and that of his son Ranaraga connected with any historical facts. Moreover, as is evident from the Kadamba records we have examined, the Kadamba Kings at this time, namely Mrigesa and Ravivarmma, seem to have been men of exceptional ability, and consequently it would be unreasonable to suppose that these rulers, who had defeated such powerful monarchs as the Pallavas and the Gangas, were themselves routed by a mere soldier of fortune, as Jayasimha I seems to have been. The latter is described in the early Chalukya records as 'the lord of chief favourites,' or 'the favourite'. I. A., XIX, p. 19; E. I., VI, p. 8. Dr. Fleet appears to conclude from this that Jayasimha I and Ranaraga very possibly held some military or executive office under the Kadamba kings of Banavasi. Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 343. It is probable that this paved the way for the subsequent independence of the family in the days of Pulikeśi I.

⁴ E. C. IV Hs 18

Dēvaḡiri informs us that he was well skilled in the art of government¹. He also seems to have meted out equal justice to all without distinction of birth or title. The Hīṡgahebbāgilu plates even style him as "Yudhiṡṡhira in justice"². Mrigēṡa is described in the records as a man of lofty intellect. The same Dēvaḡiri plates speak of him as sharing his wealth with the Brahmans, saints, preceptors and learned men³. Given such a sympathetic ruler, it is not too much to surmise that literature and art received a fresh stimulus under his patronage. Speaking of the great efforts he made in acquiring knowledge the grant says that his noble mind busied itself in learning and discriminating the truths of the several sciences (*śaṡtras*), beneficial and entertaining in both the worlds⁴. Finally Mrigēṡa was a deeply religious man. He was a pious Brahman like his predecessors. He is said in one of his inscriptions to be 'honouring gods, Brahmans, priests and the learned, ever making gifts to chief Brahmans'⁵. The latter part of this statement, however, is not an exaggeration, since all his inscriptions that have come down to us bear abundant witness to his liberality. Moreover though a pious Hindu, he was not intolerant of the other religions that flourished in his kingdom. Jainism in particular found favour in his eyes. We have three grants of his to the worshippers of Jinēdra⁶.

About his personal accomplishments one of his grants says that he had properly exercised himself in manly sports, which comprised riding on elephants, and horses use of weapons, and other games⁷. We have already seen that his literary achievements were remarkable and his knowledge of various sciences extensive.

Before concluding this brief narrative of his reign we may say a few words about Jainism at this time. From the three grants above referred to, one may get a glimpse of the flourishing condition of Jainism in the reign of Mrigēṡa. They mention at least three congregations of Jaina ascetics that lived in those days. For instance, Mrigēṡa is said to have granted an extensive tract of land (33 *nivara-*

¹ Fleet, *Sanscrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., VII, p. 38.

² E. C., IV, Hs, II.

³ Fleet, l. c.; E. C., l. c.

⁴ Fleet, l. c.

⁵ E. C., l. c.

⁶ Fleet, o. c., p. 38; *Ibid*, VI, pp. 25 and 29.

⁷ Fleet l. c.

tanas) from the river Matrisarū up to the sacred confluence of the rivers which is called Inguṣasamgama for the purpose of supporting the Kurchakas, who were naked religious mendicants. The village of Kālavaṅgā was also divided into three portions, two of which were bestowed, one on the sect of eminent ascetics called Śvētapāṭa, and the other on another sect called Nirgrantha². Moreover the state of Jaina temples, the ceremonies that were performed in them, as mentioned in some inscriptions, and the liberal grants of the King to meet the expenses of those ceremonies, show that Jainism was really a popular religion in the Kadamba Empire and that there were many people who were worshippers of Jinēndra.

¹ Fleet, o. c., p. 25.

² Ibid., VII, p. 38.

Kumaravarmma

When Mrigēśavarmma and Kṛishṇavarmma were ruling over the Kadamba Empire, the one in the north and the other in the south¹, a third king of the same line seems to have established himself at Uchchāśringi or Uchchangi². This King was Śrī Kumāravarmma Mahārāja. He was possibly a brother of Śāntivarmma, and son of Kākustha, like Kṛishṇavarmma I. For it is not improbable that when Kṛishṇavarmma was made, in the reign of his elder brother Śāntivarmma, the viceroy of the Dakṣiṇāpatha or the south, Kumāravarmma was appointed to the viceroyalty of the eastern dominions of the Empire. Indeed, when Śāntivarmma succeeded his father Kākustha, the Kadamba Empire had reached such vast proportions that it was but natural that Śāntivarmma should have administered it by means of viceroys. We may suppose that on the death of Śāntivarmma, when Mrigēśavarmma ascended the throne at Vaijayanti, Kumāravarmma, taking advantage of the youth and inexperience of the new Emperor, threw up his allegiance to his overlord and established for himself an independent kingdom in the east. We do not possess any information about this monarch, as there are no inscriptions which speak about him, excepting the one of Mandhātā-rāja. According to this record the latter was the son of Śrī Kumāravarmma Mahārāja³.

¹ Cf. below, Chapter IX.

² *M. A. R.*, 1910-11, p. 31, note. This place has been identified with Uchchangi-durga, situated about 3 miles to the east of Molakalmuru. In one of the Halsi grants (*J. A.*, VI, 30) the place is called Uchchasingi, "but the name given in the present grant is more nearly like its vernacular equivalent."

³ *Ibid.*

Kṛishṇavarmma I

Kṛishṇavarmma was the younger son of Kākusthavarmma and brother of Śāntivarmma. In the Birūr plates of Kṛishṇavarmma's son Vishṇuvarmma, Śāntivarmma is said to be the *jyēshṭha-pitṛ* or "the father's elder brother" of the latter¹. This enables us to establish the relationship between the two branches of the Kadamba family.

Kṛishṇavarmma, as stated above, acted till his brother Śāntivarmma's death as the viceroy of the southern provinces of the Kadamba Empire. But on the accession of his nephew Mṛigēśa to the throne at Vaijayanti, he renounced his allegiance to his brother's successor and formed for himself an independent kingdom in the south. The capital of this younger branch of the Kadambas is difficult to ascertain with certainty. However the fact that the Dēvagiri plates of Dēvavarma, son of Kṛishṇavarmma, are issued from Tripārvata has led Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil to think that this was their seat of government².

The satisfactory identification of this city has caused some difficulty to the scholars. Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil has put forward the suggestion that it was probably Dēvagiri, in the Karaigi Taluqua of the Dhārwar District³. However he does not specify any reason for this identification. It was probably based upon the fact that the copper-plate inscription above referred to was found at this village. But against this it may be argued that two more records were discovered at the same place, issued from Vaijayanti by

¹ *E. C.*, VI, Kd, 162. Cf. *E. I.*, VIII, p. 30, note 3.

² Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 101.

³ *Ibid.*

Mr gēśavarṇma. Moreover the word Dakṣiṇāpatha of which Kṛṣṇavarṇma was first the viceroy and subsequently the King, suggests a province to the south of Banavasi, whereas Dēvagiri is to the north. These considerations prove that Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil's theory is inaccurate.

Tripārvata was very likely the ancient name of Halebid, in the Belur Taluqua, of the Mysore State. In the time of the Hoysaḷas, it became one of their capitals. The reasons for this identification are that it is situated to the south of Banavasi, thus agreeing with the description of being in the Dakṣiṇāpatha. Furthermore a set of copper-plates of Kṛṣṇavarṇma II were found in the neighbourhood of this village¹. Moreover the topography of this village exactly fits in with the etymological meaning of the word Tripārvata, a city of three hills. For in the vicinity of Halebid there are three hills protecting the village. These are Bhairava-guḍḍa and Puṣpagiri to the south-east of the village and Benneguḍḍa to the west. The Hoysaḷas made this one of their *rājadhānis* (capitals), possibly because of its historical associations as the capital of the southern branch of the Kadambas.

Kṛṣṇavarṇma is said to have married a Kaikēya princess and had by her a son, known as Viṣṇuvarṇma². The Birūr plates, spoken of above, contain a grant made by the latter during the life time of his father with the permission of his granduncle Śāntivarṇma. Some incidental remarks made in the same inscription lead us to conclude that Kṛṣṇavarṇma had other sons besides Viṣṇuvarṇma. The statement that Viṣṇuvarṇma was the eldest son seems to suggest the existence of two other sons younger than him. Again the unusual statement that Viṣṇuvarṇma was Kṛṣṇavarṇma's son "from the daughter of the Kaikēya" seems pointedly to indicate that Kṛṣṇavarṇma had one or more sons from another wife. Can it not be supposed that Yuvarāja Dēvavarṇma, who is said in his Dēvagiri plates, to be "the beloved son of the pious great king Śrī Kṛṣṇavarṇma"³, was the second son of Kṛṣṇavarṇma? Judging from the writing, these Dēvagiri plates would appear to be of the same period as the Birūr plates. It is absolutely certain that they are much anterior to the Bennahaḷḷi plates of Kṛṣṇavarṇma II⁴.

¹ E. C., V, B1, 121.

² E. I., VI, p. 19.

³ Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions I A* VII, p. 34.

⁴ E. I., c., p. 17.

It is evident from the inscriptions of Kṛṣṇavarṃma that he was a successful King at least during the greater part of his rule. The Bennahalli plates of his grandson Kṛṣṇavarṃma II record that he was "famed for victory in many arduous wars, learned and modest"¹. The Dēvagiri grant of his son Dēvavarṃma calls him "the pious great King of the Kadambas", "a very jewell among chieftains and excellent kings", and adds the significant remark that "he acquired great wealth in battle" and "possessed the sole umbrella"². The Birūr plates of his son Viṣṇuvarṃma, which were issued, as we have said above, in the reign of his brother Śāntivarṃma, say that Kṛṣṇavarṃma was "the sovereign of the southern region adorned with his outspread umbrella"³. All these inscriptions expressly state that Kṛṣṇavarṃma performed the horse sacrifice. This is for the second time in Kadamba history that we come across a king that performs the horse sacrifice. It will be remembered that the first king of this dynasty to perform this rite, symbolic of supreme power, was Mayūravarṃma. Not even the great King Kākustha is anywhere said to have been admitted to this unique honour.

It was probably towards the end of his reign that Kṛṣṇavarṃma suffered an irretrievable defeat at the hands of the Pallavas. One of the inscriptions of this Kadamba monarch found in the Dēvanagere Taluqua informs us that in a disastrous battle his army was totally defeated by the Pallava King, Naṇakkāsa. Śivanandavarṃma, whose country was thereby ruined, retired in consequence from the world and betook himself to a forest intent on leading a life of penance, prayer and solitude⁴. The result of this battle seems to be that Kṛṣṇavarṃma remained till his death under the political tutelage of the Pallavas. For as we shall see in the next reign, his son Viṣṇuvarṃma was installed on his throne by the Pallavas.

It now remains for us to identify the two persons, mentioned in the inscription, namely Naṇakkāsa and Śivanandavarṃma. Mr. Rice is of the opinion that the latter was perhaps another son of Kṛṣṇavarṃma. According to the same authority the expression, "born in the family of the Kēkayas," suggests that

¹ E. C., V, B1, 121.

² Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., VII, p. 34. The sole umbrella is indicative of universal sovereignty.

³ E C VI Kd 162

⁴ E C XI Dg, 161

he was born of the same mother as Viṣṇuvarmma¹. The information, however, that is furnished by the inscription appears to contradict this view directly. For the epigraph says that he was "of the Atrēya gōtra, born in the Sōma-vamśa, born also in the family of the Kēkayas"; whereas the Kadambas are described in all their records as of the Mānavya gōtra and sons of Hārītī. How could the father and the son belong to two different gōtras? Indeed it would be nearer the truth to say that Śivanandavarmma was probably a close relation of Kṛishṇavarmma, possibly a brother of the Kaikēya princess, he had married. It is not improbable that he was the governor of a province to the east of the Kadamba dominions and might have been responsible for the disaster above referred to². The inscription describes him as being devoted to the feet of his father and mother. He is also reported to have been "charmed with heroism, courage, bravery, and valour," and distinguished by flattering attributes due to a succession of brave deeds.

With regard to Naṇakkāsa we are told in the same record that he was the Pallava monarch that inflicted defeat on Kṛishṇavarmma's army. But no monarch of this name is to be found in the list of the Pallava kings drawn from their inscriptions hitherto discovered. Kṛishṇavarmma seems to have been more or less a contemporary of Skandavarmma II and his son Viṣṇugopa. The latter is certainly out of the question, for as we have already observed, he was a weak ruler. Hence, we may conclude that the Pallava king that defeated Kṛishṇavarmma was either Skandavarmma, or a king belonging to one of the many branches of the Pallavas, whose inscriptions have not come down to us.

¹ Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 24-25.

² Cf. *Ibid.*

³ *E. C.*, XI, Dg, 161.

Vishnuvarmma

Krishnavarmma was succeeded by his son Vishnuvarmma. The Birūr plates of the latter tell us that he was the eldest son of Krishnavarmma¹; and according to the Bennahalli plates of his grandson Krishnavarmma II, "he was begotten by him (Krishnavarmma) on the daughter of Kaikēya"². We may presume that Vishnuvarmma was the governor of a province, when he made the grant recorded in the Birūr plates.

Vishnuvarmma is said in his Hebbata record to have been installed on his throne, "by Śāntivarmma, a Pallava king"³. We may deduce from this fact that, when Krishnavarmma died, Mṛigēśavarmma or some other king of the elder branch of the Kadamba family tried to prevent Vishnuvarmma's succession to his father's throne; and Vishnuvarmma having appealed to his overlord, was helped by him. According to this theory the Pallava king Śāntivarmma would be the successor and perhaps the son of Naṇakkāsa, who had routed Vishnuvarmma's father.

There are a few Kadamba inscriptions that give us an estimate of Vishnuvarmma's ability as a ruler. The Bennahalli plates, above referred to, compare him to Vatsa Rāja, Indra and Arjuna in the use of the bow and in the training of horses and elephants. The same plates also refer to his proficiency in Grammar and Logic⁴. His own Birūr plates record that he had distinguished himself by a "collection of hundred pious great works of merit, of hereditary fame for great bravery and valour gained in war". The grant goes

¹ *E. C.*, VI, Kd, 162.

² *Ibid*, V, B1, 121.

³ *M. A. R.*, 1925, p. 98.

⁴ *E. C. V B1 121*

on to say that he was the protector and proclaimer of the excellent Brahman faith kind to all goodness like a moon shining on the water. (viz.) the minds of the twice born thence earned and his friends"¹. The Hebbata grant of his says that "he had achieved victories against great odds in a number of battles", that he had made "a proficient study of the Śāstras and arts," that he was "an efficient ruler of his people" and that "he was a truthful and good Brahman"².

All these praises, excepting the one that proclaims his Brahman faith, appear to be empty boasts. Vishṇuvarmma does not impress us as a great monarch. The express mention in the same Hebbata plates, issued in the fifth year of his reign, of the favour done to him by the Pallava King, would suggest that he was probably a dependent of the Pallavas all his life. In fact a careful perusal of this inscription will reveal that Vishṇuvarmma is here denied one of the most important *birudas*, always applied to the Kadamba monarchs. The inscription mentions only the bare name of Vishṇuvarmma, while the grants of other kings never fail to prefix at least the title of 'Mahārāja' before their names.

It was probably at the accession of the young prince Ravivarmma, the ruler of the northern kingdom, that Vishṇuvarmma, thought that the time had possibly arrived for contesting the succession to the throne of Vaijayanti with his relation Ravivarmma. He must have found a willing helper in his overlord Chandaṇḍa, the King of Kānchī, the successor and perhaps the son of Śantivarmma, who probably believed that he would thus be able to establish his suzerainty over the whole of the Kadamba dominions and restore the honour of his ancestors, defeated by Mṛigēśa, Ravivarmma's father. The fact that the Hebbata inscription of Vishṇuvarmma betrays considerable Ganga influence³ shows that the Gangas at this time were friendly disposed towards the younger branch of the Kadamba family. It is therefore not unreasonable to suppose that they also joined this coalition, hoping to retrieve the losses inflicted by the same Mṛigēśa. As we shall see later, this attempt was not successful. Ravivarmma, in spite of his youth, came out successful in the war and killed his chief adversary Vishṇuvarmma⁴.

¹ E. C., VI, Kd, 162.

² M. A. R., 1925, p. 98.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Fleet, *Sanscrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., VI, p. 30.

Simhavarmma

Simhavarmma was the son of Vishṇuvarmma ¹. No inscription of this King has come down to us, and therefore the little we know of him is derived from the Bennahalli plates of his son Kṛishṇavarmma II. It is possible that after the defeat and death of his father Vishṇuvarmma, Simhavarmma remained in an inferior position during the long reign of Ravivarmma. This perhaps partly accounts for the fact that there are no inscriptions of Simhavarmma.

Simhavarmma is described in the Bennahalli plates as, "the Mahārāja of the Kadambas, brave and skilled in many (branches of) learning" ². As he is called the Mahārāja in this grant we may presume that he ruled as an independent king, but over a small kingdom. The second part of the praise, namely that he was skilled in many branches of learning, clearly shows that he was not a warrior, but devoted himself to private study.

We said above that we do not possess any grants of this King. From this it is also possible to deduce that his reign was a very short one. For even as petty ruler we would have had at least one grant if he had ruled for a longer period.

¹ *E. C.*, V, Bl. 121.

² *Ibid.*

Mandhata Raja or Mandhatrivarmma

Mandhātrivarmma was the son of Kumāravarmma. He was also known as Mandhāta Rāja. A grant dated in the second year of his reign from Vaijayanti styles him Vijayaśiva Mandhātrivarmma¹. His Shimoga plates issued in the fifth regnal year call him merely Mandhāta Rāja². We are however certain that both these names refer to the same monarch. For not only do the names sound similar but the grants also seem on palaeographical ground to belong to the same period. Moreover the Shimoga plates of this King bear great resemblance to the Hebbata plates of Vishṇuvarmma³. Both these records begin like the Ganga grants with *Svasti jitam bhagavatā*, the only other grant with a similar beginning being the Beṇṇūr plates of Kṛishṇavarmma II⁴. But it is clear from a careful comparison of the above three plates of Mandhātrivarmma and Vishṇuvarmma with the one of Kṛishṇavarmma II that the form of characters in which the former are written is quite different from those in which the latter are inscribed. This would make Mandhātrivarmma a contemporary of Vishṇuvarmma, and not of Kṛishṇavarmma. Furthermore a comparison of the Kūdgere plates of Mandhātrivarmma with the other Kadamba inscriptions then existing led Dr. Kielhorn to connect this monarch closely with Mṛigēśavarmma⁵. "The characters", says he, "are of the box-headed type of the southern alphabet, and in their general appearance, among Kadamba inscriptions, resemble most those of

¹ *E. I.*, VI, p. 18; *E. C.*, VII, Sk, 29.

² *M. A. R.*, 1910-11, pp. 31-35.

³ *Ibid.*, 1925, p. 98.

⁴ *E. C.*, V, B1, 245.

⁵ The Hebbata plates of Vishṇuvarmma and the Shimoga plates of Mandhata had not been discovered at the time when Dr. Kielhorn wrote

the Dēvagere plates of the fourth year and the Ha si plates of the Mahārāja Mṛigēśavarmma (*Ind Ant* Vol VII p 37 and Vol V p. 24, plates) ¹. Lastly the Hiṇṇahebbagilu plates of the same Mṛigēśa are throughout similar to these Kūḍgere plates. The usual prefix *viṣaya-śiva* also occurs in the Hiṇṇahebbāgilu plates and both the inscriptions are described as *Paṭṭikās* ². It is evident therefore that Mandhātrivarmma was also a contemporary of Mṛigēśavarmma.

All this is calculated to prove our hypothesis that the Kadamba Empire at this time had already been dismembered and was ruled over by Mṛigēśavarmma, Viṣṇuvarmma and Kumāravarmma in the north, south and east respectively. It also shews that Śāntivarmma, Kṛishṇavarmma, and Kumāravarmma were all brothers or at least very close relations, since only such could be appointed to the highly responsible posts of viceroys of the different parts of the Empire.

We have said that the Kūḍgere plates of Mandhātrivarmma were issued from Vaijayanti or Banavasi. This fact seems to suggest that on the death of the King of Banavasi, his cousin Mṛigēśa, Mandhātrivarmma who was ruling at a short distance from this capital marched on the latter city and seized upon the throne. We know that Mṛigēśavarmma died an almost premature death ³, and his son, Ravivarmma, was perhaps a mere stripling at the time. Consequently Mandhātrivarmma could have his own way and he usurped the throne. It is clear from the inscriptions that Mandhātrivarmma ruled over this kingdom for more than five years. His Shimoga plates are dated in the fifth year of his reign ⁴.

There are no other Kadamba inscriptions that speak of the successor of Mandhātrivarmma. It is possible that he died without an heir, or that when Ravivarmma came of age there followed a civil war in the course of which Mandhātrivarmma was killed, and Ravivarmma ascended the throne of Vaijayanti by right. The latter conclusion is more probable, for perhaps it is because of this occurrence that all the records of the Kadamba kings pass this branch over without any mention. Our knowledge of Kumāravarmma and

¹ *E. I.*, VI, p. 13.

² *E. C.*, VII, Sk, 29. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. VI-VII.

³ The documents we have do not go beyond his eighth regnal year.

⁴ *M. A. R.* 1910-11 pp 31-35.

his son Mandhatrivarmma is derived from the two records mentioned above, belonging to the latter.

The Shimoga plates of this monarch say that this glorious Mandhāta Rāja raised the "banner in the shape of the fame acquired on many battlefields on which his scent-elephants in rut trampled on the bodies of his enemies"¹. Though at first sight this eulogium might strike us as a fitting record of the glories of Mandhātrivarmma as a ruler, it must nevertheless be counted as an empty boast, as we know that this monarch was a usurper.

¹ Ibid.

THE KADAMBA EMPIRE UNDER RAVIVARMA

① SĒNDRAKA VISHAYA

② DAKSHINĀPATHA



~~~~~ COUNTRY UNDER RAVIVARMA  
AFTER IT WAS CONQUERED BY  
HIM FROM THE TWO YOUNGER  
BRANCHES OF THE KADAMBA FAMILY  
--- COUNTRY UNDER THE FEUDATORY  
OF THE KADAMBAS

## CHAPTER XIII

### Ravivarmma

At the time of the death of Mandhātrivarmma, the throne of Banavasi was again occupied by a representative of the main line of the Kadamba-Kula in the person of Ravivarmma, Mṛigēśa's son, who had been dispossessed of his rights by the intruder Mandhāta. The new King seems to have come to the throne at a very early age. This prince being young, the Pallava and the Ganga Kings, who had been vanquished by his father Mṛigēśa, tried to retaliate by encroaching on the Kadamba territory. They also appear to have prevailed upon his relation Vishṇuvarmma to make a bid for the sovereignty of the northern regions. But Ravivarmma, as seen when narrating the history of Vishṇuvarmma's reign, rose equal to the occasion, defeated them all in battle, and even killed Vishṇuvarmma. "That mighty King," says the epigraphical record, "the Sun of the sky of the mighty family of the Kadambas, who having slain Śrī Vishṇuvarmma and other kings, and having conquered the whole world, and having uprooted Chaṇḍaṇḍa, the Lord of Kāñchī, had established himself at Palāśikā"<sup>1</sup> The Halsi plates of his son Harivarmma record that Ravivarmma "acquired the regal power by the strength and the prowess of his own arm"<sup>2</sup>.

Ravivarmma had undoubtedly a long and prosperous reign. The Nilambūr plates of this sovereign which were issued from Vaijāyanti are dated in the fifth year of his reign<sup>3</sup>. There are

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., VI, p. 30. Dr. Fleet states that Vishṇuvarmma was the Pallava king Vishnugopavarmma. But it seems more likely that the king mentioned was Ravivarmma's contemporary, in the younger branch of the Kadamba family, the son of Krishnavarmma.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., VI, p. 32.

<sup>3</sup> E. I., VIII, p. 148.

three sets of plates dated in the same reign from Palaśika and the Ajjibad-Sirsi plates are dated in the 35th year of his reign<sup>2</sup>. It being likely that he lived a few years more, after he made this grant, we might give 40 years as the possible extent of his reign. There is nothing strange in this assumption for the simple reason that Ravivarmma ascended the throne when quite young.

All the inscriptions of the Kadamba kings that speak of Ravivarmma are unanimous in presenting him as a truly great monarch. A set of Halsi plates of his son Harivarmma describes him as a King "who possessed a blameless and mighty regal power that had been acquired by the strength of his own arm"<sup>3</sup>. His own Halsi grants tell us that he "acquired good fortune by his excellence and fortitude,"<sup>4</sup> and that he was "the Sun on the sky of the mighty family of the Kadambas"<sup>5</sup>. His Sirsi plates record that before his prowess "(are) prostrate all", and apparently as if trying to compare him as warrior to the great Kākusthavarmma add: "Similar to the great leader of the armies of Kadamba"<sup>6</sup>. Ravivarmma is, in these inscriptions, said to have slain Vishṇuvarmma and other kings and conquered the whole world<sup>7</sup>. This inscription does not mention the name of the Gangas, among the kings subdued by Ravivarmma. Yet it is possible that he extended his conquests to the territories of the Gangas, uprooted on a previous occasion by his father Mṛigēśa. Indeed the Nilambūr plates of Ravivarmma seem to hint at this fact, as they contain a grant of two hamlets named Multagi and Malkāvu, situated at a very short distance from Talakāḍ, "the new capital of the Gangas". We have said above that the possible reason why the Ganga king Harivarmma transferred his capital from Kuvalāla (Kolar) to Talakāḍ was the encroachment of his enemies on the north or north-west. It is possible that Ravivarmma continued the war against the Gangas and after the defeat of the allies successfully attacked their new capital at Talakāḍ. In no other way can one account for this grant. The fact that the plates are dated in the 5th regnal year of

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, o. c., pp. 27, 29, 30.

<sup>2</sup> *Progress Report*, A. S. W. I., 1917-18, p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> Fleet, o. c., p. 32.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 30.

<sup>6</sup> *E. I.*, XVI, p. 268 and note 4.

<sup>7</sup> Fleet, l. c., p. 30.

<sup>8</sup> *E. I.* VIII, p. 147



Ravivarmma confirms our statement that the Gangas were also implicated in the conspiracy to dethrone the young prince.

All the inscriptions highly extol Ravivarmma's extraordinary qualities of head and heart. In the Halsi grant of his brother Bhānuvarmma, he is called "the pious Great King of the Kadambas"<sup>1</sup>. His own Sirsi plates testify that he was "well-versed in statesmanship"<sup>2</sup>. The Halsi plates of his son Harivarmma record that he was the touchstone to test the gold which was the mind of learned men, and that he supported holy people with the wealth he had amassed by just means<sup>3</sup>. The fact that he went to the extent of supporting holy people and scholars is corroborated by his own Halsi and Nilambūr grants. "The Lord Ravi", the former remarks, "established the ordinance at the mighty city of Palāśika that ascetics should be supported during the four months of the rainy season; that the learned men, the chief of whom was Kumāradatta, should according to justice enjoy all the material substance of that greatness"<sup>4</sup>. The Nilambūr inscription mentions a grant of two villages to a Brahman named Gōvindaswāmi, who had mastered the *Yajurvēda*, the purpose of the grant being the increase of his own merit<sup>5</sup>. The Sirsi plates record another grant made by him to the temple of his beloved physician, the dēśāmātya Nilakaṇṭha<sup>6</sup>. The Halsi inscription above referred to records other ordinances established by him, including provision for the celebration, every year on the full moon day of the month Kārttika (Oct.-Nov.), of the eight days festival of the god Jinēndra<sup>7</sup>. The second Halsi record of Ravivarmma also mentions a grant made by him to the god Jinēndra<sup>8</sup>.

Thus loved by all his subjects Ravivarmma passed away after a long reign of 40 years. An inscription found in the Sorab Taluqua seems to imply that, when Ravivarmma died, one of his queens became a satī, and was burnt with his body<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., VI, p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> *E. I.*, XVI, p. 268.

<sup>3</sup> Fleet, o. c., p. 32.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27.

<sup>5</sup> *E. I.*, VIII, p. 148.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, XVI, p. 268.

<sup>7</sup> Fleet, o. c., p. 27.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* p. 30.

<sup>9</sup> *E. C.* VIII Sb, 523

## CHAPTER XIV

### Harivarmma

**R**avivarmma was succeeded by his son Harivarmma. The reign of this sovereign seems to have been remarkably short. In fact his age, when he ascended the throne, was undoubtedly ripe, as the reign of his father was longer than usual. Moreover the three copper-plate grants that have come down to us do not go beyond his eighth regnal year. The one of Halsi dated in his fourth year records that "he was kindly disposed towards his subjects," and had "acquired a sovereignty that was free from all troubles"<sup>1</sup> In fact the foes of the Kadamba Empire, as we have already seen, had so completely been vanquished during the long reign of the illustrious Ravivarmma, that they dared not rise against his successor at the beginning of his reign. The inscription next remarks that he, "pervaded the whole world with his fame" and again that he "cleft open the mountains, which were his enemies, by the blows of the thunderbolt, which was his own arm." One feels that the last two praises are too poetic to be taken at their face value. Indeed on reading the second grant, also from Halsi, dated in the fifth year of his reign, one begins to doubt whether he was actually a great monarch. Unlike other grants it entirely thrusts into the back ground the donor while it grows eloquent on the achievements of his father Ravivarmma. It is satisfied with saying that Harivarmma was "a moon to the blue lotuses, that were the hearts of his own subjects," while it bestows a long litany of praises on Ravivarmma. It speaks of the latter as one, "who possessed a blameless and mighty regal power that had been acquired by the strength and prowess of his own arm; who was the touchstone to

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<sup>1</sup> Fleet *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions* I A VI p 31

test the gold, which was the minds of the learned people; who had manifested his victory over his passions by freeing himself from lust and other such enemies; who supported holy people with the wealth that he had amassed by just means, and whose pure fame was spread abroad over the surface of the earth, and who was the Great King of the Kadambas..."<sup>1</sup>. This clearly shows that Harivarmma if not exactly a weakling, was never as great a monarch as his father.

Harivarmma was the last King of the elder branch of the Kadamba family. For immediately after this monarch we find Kṛishṇavarmma II, the representative of the younger branch, on the throne of Vaijayanti<sup>2</sup>. Possibly Harivarmma died without an heir and appointed Kṛishṇavarmma as his successor, in order to unify and strengthen the Kadamba Empire. This indeed appears a plausible compromise intended to put an end to the unfriendly relations existing between the two branches of the same family, which were tending to undermine the power of the Kadamba-Kula.

But an epithet used in one of the inscriptions of the same Kṛishṇavarmma seems to contradict this theory. Kṛishṇavarmma is said in the record to have acquired the wealth of his kingdom by his own strength and valour<sup>3</sup>. This would probably imply that Kṛishṇavarmma renewed the hereditary feud, and in the war that followed Harivarmma lost both his life and his kingdom.

In this Kṛishṇavarmma was most likely helped by the rebellion of Pulikeśi I in the northern part of Harivarmma's kingdom. We referred above to the suggestion of Dr. Fleet that Jayasinha and Raṇarāga, the first members of the Chalukya family, were probably in the employ of the Kadamba emperors in their northern dominions<sup>4</sup>. The advantageous position which they held under the Kadambas seem to have slowly paved the way for the final independence of the Chalukyas in the time of Pulikeśi I. The latter, it is evident, took advantage of the weakness of Harivarmma and declared himself an independent sovereign over the northern provinces of the Kadamba Empire, of which he was presumably the chief administrative official. Indeed the fact that he made Bādāmi, which is situated exactly in the centre of the northern provinces of

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> E. I., XVI, p. 271.

<sup>3</sup> E. C. V B1 121

<sup>4</sup> Fleet *Kanarese Dynasties* p 343

the Kadamba kingdom, his capital<sup>1</sup>, plainly indicates that by this insurrection Harivarmma lost the entire northern part of his kingdom<sup>2</sup>.

Though the Chalukyas shook off the yoke of Kadamba supremacy, the Sēndrakas nevertheless remained faithful to their overlords. A copper-plate inscription of Harivarmma avers that the Sēndrakas were at this time the feudatories of the Kadambas. The inscription records the grant of a village called Maradē, at the request of Bhānuśakti, for the use of the holy people and for the purposes of the celebrations of the rites of the temple to the Śramaṇas, who were a congregation of Jaina religious mendicants. Bhānuśakti is styled in the record as "the glory of the family of the Sēndrakas"<sup>3</sup>. But the record says nothing more about this dynasty. It is probable that they had been reduced to submission during the glorious reign of Kākusthavarmma, or of his son Śāntivarmma, and remained as dependants of the Kadambas till the decline of their power. That the Kadambas had subordinate rulers under them is made evident by the Talagunda record of Śāntivarmma which remarks that the latter was adorned by the acquisition of three crowns<sup>4</sup>. This we have understood to mean that Śāntivarmma imposed his suzerainty on three neighbouring dynasties. One of these royal families was evidently the Sēndrakas, who are spoken of for the first time in the above mentioned inscription of Harivarmma.

Harivarmma, though not a great monarch in the military sense of the word, was nevertheless one who had the welfare of his subjects at heart. One of his Halsi grants tells us that he was like unto "a moon to the blue lotuses, that were the hearts of all his subjects"<sup>5</sup>. The Sangōḷi plates of his mention that he had been, "initiated into a vow of protecting the subjects"<sup>6</sup>. The three grants that have come down to us are a clear proof that no deserving person or institution ever escaped his notice.

<sup>1</sup> *E. I.*, VI, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 102.

<sup>3</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., VI, p. 32.

<sup>4</sup> *E. C.*, VII, Sk, 176.

<sup>5</sup> Fleet, l. c.

<sup>6</sup> *E. I.*, XIV, p. 167.

## CHAPTER XV

### Krishnavarmma II

**K**rishnavarmma II was the son and successor of Simhavarmma. He is described in his own Bennahalli plates as having "acquired the wealth of his kingdom by his heroism"<sup>1</sup>. This may perhaps refer to the restoration by him of the fallen fortunes of his family. In fact the Sirsi plates of the same monarch remark that he "gained fame and the fortune of royalty by virtue of his successes in many battles." The record further states that he was anointed at Vaijayanti "during a horse-sacrifice"<sup>2</sup>. From this we may conclude that Krishnavarmma revived the feud of his forefathers and having conquered Harivarmma, the last representative of the elder branch of the Kadambas, ascended the throne at Vaijayanti. Furthermore the fact that Krishnavarmma performed the horse-sacrifice would show that he gradually became so powerful as to impose his overlordship on the neighbouring rulers. This is clearly indicated in his Bennūr plates, where Krishnavarmma is represented as making a grant of the village of Pelmadi in the Sēndraka-vishaya to the god Mahādēva in the Inguṇa village, after having set out on a military expedition from Vaijayanti<sup>3</sup>. The inscription does not tell us against whom this campaign was undertaken. However it is possible to conclude that as the grant was made in the Sēndraka-vishaya the expedition was directed against the latter. It is not unreasonable to suppose that during the confusion that was occasioned by the civil war between Krishnavarmma and Harivarmma

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<sup>1</sup> E. C., V, Bl, 121.

<sup>2</sup> E. I., XVI, p. 271.

<sup>3</sup> E C V Bl 245

the Sēndrakas renounced their allegiance to the Kadambas and asserted their independence. Accordingly when Kṛṣṇavarṇma had securely established himself on the throne at Vaijayanti, he proceeded against them; and the fact that he celebrated the horse-sacrifice would show that he succeeded in this campaign.

This important event seems to have taken place after the seventh and before the 19th year of his reign in which his six plates are dated. For the Bennahalli plates which are dated in his seventh regnal year do not allude to this event at all.

It is not improbable that in the struggle with Harivarṇma, Kṛṣṇavarṇma was helped by the Gangas, who had always befriended this branch of the Kadamba family. The Ganga influence at his court is evidenced by the departure from the traditional style in which the Kadamba grants are inscribed. For instance, the contents of his Beṇṇūr plates differ in some singular respects from his Bennahalli plates<sup>1</sup>. "They begin", says Mr. Rice, "as do most of the Ganga plates, with *Jitam bhagavatā*," and "the *Swasti* is opposite the third line"<sup>2</sup>.

This friendship between these two ruling families perhaps culminated in the marriage of Kṛṣṇavarṇma's sister to Taḍaṅgāla Mādhava, the King of the Gangas<sup>3</sup>.

Kṛṣṇavarṇma, as it is plain from what has been said, was a remarkably successful monarch. The grant of his grandson Bhōgivarṇma calls him: "A sun in the firmament of this (Kadamba) family"<sup>4</sup>. All the grants of his nephew, the Ganga King Avinīta, accord to him the same honour<sup>5</sup>. His own Bennahalli plates record that he was "skilled in rightly protecting his subjects"<sup>6</sup>, which would perhaps imply that during his reign the country was rendered safe from the invasions of foreign kings. The Beṇṇūr plates appear to confirm this supposition. For they speak of him as "protecting his subjects," and style him "the destroyer of his enemies in the earth"<sup>7</sup>. The same record also bears witness to his generosity "Even as in the Yudhisthira's palace," says it, "so in his, thousands of Brahmans were daily fed in comfort"<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> E. C., V, B1, 245.

<sup>2</sup> E. C., V, Introd., p. III.

<sup>3</sup> For a full discussion of this event the reader is kindly referred to the next chapter.

<sup>4</sup> M. A. R., 1918, p. 40.

<sup>5</sup> E. C., I, No. 1; E. C., XI, Ba, 141, N1, 60, E. C., XII, M1, 110.

<sup>6</sup> E. C. V B1 121

<sup>7</sup> E. C. V B1 245

<sup>8</sup> Ibid

## CHAPTER XVI

### A Marriage between the Gangas and the Kadambas

There are many inscriptions of the Ganga kings of Mysore that speak of a marriage alliance between the Kadamba and the Ganga royal families. Some inscriptions of King Avinīta record that he was the son of Koṅgaṇi-Mahādhirāja by the beloved sister of the Kadamba King Kṛishṇavarmma<sup>1</sup>. The grants describe Kṛishṇavarmma as the "sun in the firmament of the Kadamba family". But there are no clues in the record to enable one to ascertain who this Kṛishṇavarmma was, whether he was the first king of that name or his great-grandson<sup>2</sup>. We have therefore to fall back upon two hints we discover in the contemporary inscriptions in order to arrive at a satisfactory solution of this riddle. The first is the inscription of the Ganga King Śrīpurusha discovered at Halkūr, that gives S. 710 or A. D. 788 as the year of the grant. From the study of two other inscriptions of the same Śrīpurusha, we conclude that the year 788 A. D. was the 62nd year of his reign<sup>3</sup>.

The second clue is that the Ganga King Durvinīta was the father-in-law of Pulikeśi II<sup>4</sup>. The former, it is evident, had a very long reign; for the Gummareddipura plates are dated in the fortieth year after his accession to the throne<sup>5</sup>. It is also likely that he was

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<sup>1</sup> *E. C.*, I, p. 51; *M. A. R.*, 1924, p. 68; *Ibid.*, 1925, p. 88.

<sup>2</sup> In the *M. A. R.* for the year 1924, pp. 17-18, Kṛishnavarmma II is said to be the brother of Avinīta's mother. The reasons there pointed out seem to be purely chronological.

<sup>3</sup> *E. C.*, VI, Mg, 36; *Ibid.*, IV, Ng, 85; *M. A. R.*, 1918, p. 42.

<sup>4</sup> *E. C.* VIII. Nr. 35. Cf. Venkataramanaya. *Durvinīta and Vikramaditya Trilēni* I pp 112-120

<sup>5</sup> *M. A. R.* 1912, paras 65-69

partly a contemporary of Kirttivarṃma. We are sure that he was fully contemporary with Pulikeśi. Some years after the latter's death, he restored his grandson, Vikramaditya, the third son of Pulikeśi, to his hereditary throne <sup>1</sup>.

Now we know from the Aihole inscription that Pulikeśi II subdued the Kadambas. The inscription however does not mention the name of the Kadamba king defeated on this occasion.

Among the later Kadamba grants made in the beginning of the 7th century we have one of Mahārāja Bhōgivarṃma. The inscription says that he was "the acquirer of an extensive kingdom by the strength of his own arm" <sup>2</sup>. This may be taken to mean that Mahārāja Bhōgivarṃma re-established the supremacy of the Kadambas, lost perhaps in the time of his predecessor. In fact we know from the Chalukya grants that Kirttivarṃma, the father of Pulikeśi, subjugated the Kadambas. The same Aihole inscription of Pulikeśi says that Kirttivarṃma was "the night of doom to... the Kadambas" <sup>3</sup>. The grant of Ādityavarṃma, the son of Pulikeśi, records that Kirttivarṃma established the banner of his fame at Banavasi <sup>4</sup>. It is very probable that the Kadamba king who was defeated on this occasion was Ajavarṃma, Bhōgivarṃma's father. It cannot be Kṛṣṇavarṃma, the father of Ajavarṃma, for he is described in the inscription of Bhōgivarṃma as "a sun in the firmament of this (the Kadamba) family" <sup>5</sup>, which undoubtedly means that he augmented the glory of the Kadamba dynasty; while there are no epithets whatever to qualify Ajavarṃma.

Furthermore we know from the Aihole inscription that when Mangalēśa tried to secure the succession after his death for his own son, there ensued a bitter discord and a civil war between him and Pulikeśi. This so weakened the central government that all the feudatory kings rose in rebellion and asserted their independence. Thus it is possible that "when the whole world was enveloped by the darkness of enemies" <sup>6</sup>, which spelled disaster to the Empire, Bhōgivarṃma also renounced his allegiance to the Chalukyas. The

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VIII, Nr. 35. Cf. Venkataramanaya, o. c.

<sup>2</sup> M. A. R., 1918, p. 42.

<sup>3</sup> E. I., VI, p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., XI, p. 68.

<sup>5</sup> M. A. R., 1918, l. c.

<sup>6</sup> Fleet *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions* I. A. V p 72.



Tagare plates as seen above call him an acquirer of an extensive kingdom by the strength of his own arm. This seems to prove that Bhōgivarṃma recovered part of the Empire lost by his father, and with it the independence of his own kingdom. In fact the campaign of Pulikeśi against Banavasi, directed as it was in the first years of his reign, suggests that it was undertaken in order to reconquer the former possessions of his family.

We are now in a position to understand that Durvinīta, Pulikeśi and Bhōgivarṃma were all contemporaries. Durvinīta, as we know from the Ganga inscriptions<sup>2</sup>, was the son of Avinīta. Hence this Avinīta seems to have been a contemporary of Ajavarṃma. Avinīta, who had also a long reign<sup>3</sup>, seems to have ruled in the time of his uncle Kṛishṇavarṃma as well. In his Mercara copper-plates Avinīta calls himself "the beloved sister's son of Kṛishṇavarṃma Mahādhirāja"<sup>4</sup>. This shows that Kṛishṇavarṃma was then reigning, or at most had reigned a few years before. It is possible to deduce from this that Kṛishṇavarṃma's reign was synchronic with that of Mādhava II, the father of Avinīta.

Now as regards the first point, we find that the inscription of Śrīpurusha is dated Ś. 710 or 788 A. D. He seems to have had a very long reign, because, as stated above, the year 788 corresponds to the 62nd year of his reign. This calculation gives 728 A. D. as the year that witnessed his accession to the throne. We may suppose that his father Śivamāra and his grand-father Bhūvikrama reigned in the first quarter of the eighth century (700-728). Bhūvikrama's father Śrīvikrama must have reigned therefore in the fourth quarter of the seventh century (675-700), and the latter's father Mushkara in the third quarter of the same century (650-675). We have seen above that Durvinīta, who was the father of Mushkara, reigned for an exceptionally long period. The Gummaredḍipura plates are in fact dated in the 40th year of his reign, and it is possible that he lived a few years more. It is not improbable that he was the contemporary of Mangalēśa, Pulikeśi and Vikramāditya. He may have reigned therefore for full half a century, say from 600 till 653 A. D. or thereabout. The dates assigned to these monarchs by antiquarians of repute are in perfect agreement with the chrono-

logy we have adopted for Durvīṭa. We said above that he was the father-in-law of Pulikeśi II. He must therefore have been older than Pulikeśi, to have a daughter of marriageable age to be given in wedlock to the Chalukya King. Both Mr. Rice and Dr. Fleet agree in the opinion that Pulikeśi reigned between 609 and 642 A. D. Durvīṭa may have come to the throne some time before Pulikeśi and as he helped his grandson Vikramāditya, the son of Pulikeśi, in re-gaining his ancestral kingdom, his reign must have extended till the year 655, at which date we begin to feel that the position of Vikramāditya on the throne was safe<sup>1</sup>. The Gummared-dipura plates which are dated in the 40th year of his reign form the internal evidence to show that his reign was really a very long one. We may therefore rightly conclude that his reign lasted from the year 600 till the year 653 A. D. or thereabout.

His father Avinīta seems similarly to have had a very long reign. Several inscriptions state that he was crowned, when an infant on his mother's lap<sup>2</sup>; and the Dodda-Ballāpur grant is dated in the 29th year of his reign<sup>3</sup>. We may suppose that he reigned for a further period of 10 or 11 years and accordingly his reign lasted for about 40 years. Indeed, there is no reason to suppose that he died at the age of 29 or 30 years. Avinīta would consequently have reigned from 560 down to 600 A. D.

Mādhava II, the father of Avinīta, probably reigned from 535 to 560 A. D., which would make him a contemporary of Kṛishṇavarma II.

It seems it could therefore be taken as proved, both chronologically and by referring to the events of history, that the Kadamba King Kṛishṇavarma II and the Ganga King Taḍaṅgāla Mādhava were contemporaries. We should now remember that both the Kadamba and the Ganga kings ruled over Mysore, the one in the north and the other in the south, and in consequence they were neighbours. It stands to reason, therefore, that it was the sister of Kṛishṇavarma II whom Mādhava married. It is absolutely impossible that Taḍaṅgāla Mādhava who was a contemporary of

<sup>1</sup> Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 63.

<sup>2</sup> E. C., X, Mr, 72. This inscription says that he "obtained the honours of the kingdom on the couch of the lap of his divine mother". Ibid., IX, DB, 68; etc. Cf. Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 106.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., IX DB 67

Kṛishṇavarṃma II, should have married the sister of Kṛishṇavarṃma I, the great-grandfather of the second King of the same name.

Finally at least one of the titles given to Kṛishṇavarṃma II is similar to that given to the King Kṛishṇavarṃma who is said in the Ganga plates to be the mother's brother of Avinīta. All the Ganga plates call Kṛishṇavarṃma "a sun in the firmament of the Kadamba family"<sup>1</sup>. The same expression is met with in the Tagare plates of Bhōgivarṃma, the grandson of Kṛishṇavarṃma II, wherein the latter is described as "a sun in the firmament of this (the Kadamba) family"<sup>2</sup>.

We may therefore conclude by stating that the Kadamba King Kṛishṇavarṃma who married his sister to the Ganga King Mādhava was Kṛishṇavarṃma II, and not Kṛishṇavarṃma I, as stated by Mr. Rice and others.

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<sup>1</sup> *E. C.*, I, p. 51, etc.

<sup>2</sup> *M. A. R.*, 1918, p. 40.

## CHAPTER XVII

### Ajavarmma

**K**ṛiṣṇavarmma was succeeded by his son Ajavarmma. We have no inscriptions of this King, from which we deduce that his reign was very short. It is also possible to conclude from the absence of inscriptions that he occupied an inferior position all his life. In fact the grant of his son Bhōgivarṃma seems to imply this, as it does not give the title Mahārāja to Ajavarmma<sup>1</sup>.

These are real facts, which are nevertheless not easily explained after the study of the glorious reign of Kṛiṣṇavarmma II, Ajavarmma's father. How could the Empire descend so suddenly to this state? Perhaps some Chalukya inscriptions will enlighten us on the point. Thus we are told in some of the Chalukya inscriptions that Kirttivarmma, the father of Pulikeśi II, subjugated the Kadambas. The Aihole inscription of Pulikeśi II says that Kirttivarmma was the "night of doom to...the Kadambas"<sup>2</sup>. The grant of Ādit-yavarmma, the son of Pulikeśi records that Kirttivarmma established the banner of his fame at Banavasi<sup>3</sup>. The Yewūr tablet inscription avers that he was "the axe to sever the column which was the famous and mighty Kadambas"<sup>4</sup>. It is very probable that the Kadamba King that was defeated on this occasion was Ajavarmma. It cannot be Kṛiṣṇavarmma, the father of Ajavarmma, for the reasons given above would not admit this fact<sup>5</sup>. If this defeat took place at the beginning of Ajavarmma's reign, the obscurity of this monarch is explained without much difficulty. It is most likely that throughout his life he remained a simple Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, under the Chalukyas.

<sup>1</sup> M. A. R., 1918, p. 42.

<sup>2</sup> E. I., VI, p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A, XI, p. 68. The Daulatabad plates of Jagadekamalla style him "the breaker of the pillar of the famous Kadambas." *Hyderabad Archaeological Series*, No. 2, p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., VIII, p. 13; E. C., VII, Sb, 571; X, Kl, 15.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. ante, p. 54.

## CHAPTER XVIII

### Bhogivarmma

**B**hōgivarmma succeeded his father Ajavarmma. We have already noticed that in the reign of the latter the Kadambas had met with reverses and had become the feudatories of the Chalukyas. Accordingly when Bhōgivarmma came to the throne, he found the fortunes of his family at a very low ebb.

But Bhōgivarmma was a man of indefatigable energy. He tried all means in his power to restore the dynasty to its pristine glory. An epigraphical record of his reign enthusiastically chronicles that he acquired "an extensive kingdom by the strength of his own arm," and "subdued his enemies"<sup>1</sup>. In this arduous task of restoring the Kadamba power, Bhōgivarmma also seems to have been helped by good fortune on many occasions. Thus it was probably in the course of the civil war between Mangalēśa and his nephew Pulikeśi when "the whole world was enveloped by the darkness of enemies"<sup>2</sup>, that Bhōgivarmma freed the Kadamba Empire from the Chalukya yoke. He ruled as an independent monarch during the period of anarchy and confusion.

Bhōgivarmma's success however was short-lived. For as soon as Pulikeśi was free from troubles at home, he started a campaign which had for its object the recovery of lost territories<sup>3</sup>. He laid siege to the city of Vaijayanti and stormed the citadel in spite of the stout resistance offered by the Kadamba garrison. "When he was besieging Vanavāsī," says the Aihole inscription, "which for a girdle

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<sup>1</sup> M. A. R., 1918, p. 42.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet, *Sanscrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., VIII, p. 242; E. I VI, p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Pulikesi started to conquer these territories after the defeat of Appayika and Govinda mentioned in the A'hole inscription. Cf. E I VI p 9

has the rows of *hamsa* birds that sport on the high waves of the Varadā as their play-place and which by its wealth rivalled the city of the gods, that fortress on land, having the surface of the earth all around covered with the great sea of his army, to the looker-on seemed at once converted into a fortress in the water"<sup>1</sup>. It is possible that Bhōgivarṃma with his son Viṣṇuvārṃma perished in the battle, for with him the first Kadamba dynasty practically becomes extinct.

It is clear from the epigraphical records that during his brief rule, Bhōgivarṃma raised his kingdom to a position of eminence among the neighbouring principalities. It is recorded in the Aihole inscription that the city of Banavasi "by its wealth rivalled the city of the gods." Bhōgivarṃma's own Tagare plates affirm that he possessed "many enjoyments of various kinds procured by victory over enemies"<sup>2</sup>.

We possess by a lucky accident a pleasing description of the city of Banavasi at this period from the pen of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang. He visited Banavasi, which he calls Kong-kin-na-pu-lo<sup>3</sup>, after the defeat and death of Bhōgivarṃma at the hands of the

<sup>1</sup> *E. I.*, VI, pp. 9-10.

<sup>2</sup> *M. A. R.*, 1918, p. 40.

<sup>3</sup> The identification of Kong-kin-na-pu-lo (Konkanapura) of Hiuen Tsiang with Banavasi was first suggested by Mons. Saint Martin; but it was never accepted by the scientific world. Cf. *Watters, On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, II, p. 238. Nevertheless this identification seems to be accurate. For the direction in which the pilgrim travelled from the South to Mo-ho-la-ch'a or Pulikesi's kingdom seems to suggest that he crossed the kingdom of the Kadambas of which Banavasi was the capital. Secondly, the fact mentioned in his narrative that he proceeded northwards from the city of Konkanapura before entering the Mo-ho-la-ch'a country indicates that the city was in the south. This makes it impossible to identify it with Goa, which is in the west. Thirdly, the very name of the city shews that it was the chief city of Southern Konkan, where there was then no other city as important as Banavasi. Finally the Chinese pilgrim's assertion that the city of Konkanapura was bordered by forests on the north and the south perfectly agrees with the geographical surroundings of Banavasi. Even in later centuries this city seems to have borne the name of Kongunapura, for an inscription of the Sinda chieftain Chavunda II, dated in A. D. 1162-3, speaks of Konguna, as apparently the capital of the Banavasi country, Kadambalige and Hayve, which always constituted the Kadamba kingdom. Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, J. B. B. R. A. S. XI p. 270

Chalukya King Pulikeśi. The reason for this conclusion is that Huen Tsiang in his account of Pulikeśi and his capital, which he visited shortly afterwards, refers to the defeat of the great king Harsha by the former<sup>1</sup>. Now we know from the Aihole inscription, which gives Pulikeśi's conquests in chronological order, that the victory over Harsha was gained by Pulikeśi after he had subdued the Kadambas. Furthermore the Chinese pilgrim, while describing Koṅkaṇapura does not at all allude to the ruler of this kingdom. This evidently shows that the kingdom had no king at this time, as it had been conquered by Pulikeśi and annexed to his kingdom.

To return to the narrative, from the Drāvida country Huen Tsiang proceeded to the Koṅkaṇapura kingdom. He describes the country as being 5000 *li* and its capital about 30 *li* in circuit<sup>2</sup>. The land was very fertile and rich in vegetation. It was regularly cultivated and produced large crops. The disposition of the people, he continues, was ardent and quick. They loved learning and esteemed virtue and talent. There were several Buddhist monasteries in the country. In the capital, close to the royal palace was a large monastery with about 300 monks who were all men of distinction. The convent had a great *vināra* more than a hundred feet in height. It contained a precious tiara of Buddha, which was nearly two feet high, adorned with gems and enclosed in a case; on fast-days it was exhibited and worshipped. In the temple of another monastery near the capital was a sandalwood image of Maitrēya made by the Arhat Śrutaviṃśatikōṭi. Near the capital on the north side was a wood of *Tāla* trees about thirty *li* round, and within the wood a *stūpa* round which according to local tradition, four former Buddhas had walked for exercise. To the east of the capital was another, which had associations with the Buddha's preaching. Near the capital on the south-west was a *stūpa* said to have been built by Aśoka, on the spot where Śrutaviṃśatikōṭi made miraculous exhibitions and had many converts. Not far from this place there were remains of a monastery built by the same Arhat<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, II, pp. 256-257.

<sup>2</sup> We cannot estimate the extent of the kingdom from these figures, for the *li*, which has been taken as the unit of measure, differs in different places in China.

<sup>3</sup> Beal *Buddhist Records of the Western World* II pp 253-255. Watters *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India* II, pp 237-238.

## CHAPTER XIX

### Madhuvarmma

It is evident from the Chalukyan records that Pulikeśi II's reign ended in a disaster. The Kūram plates of the time of the Pallava King Paramēśvaravarṇma I relate that Narasiṃhavarṇma I, one of his predecessors, completely vanquished the army of Pulikeśi who had invaded the Tamil countries, in the battles of Pariyaḷa, Maṇṇamāḷa and Śūramāra<sup>1</sup>. Shortly afterwards Narasiṃha, having decided to lead a counter-invasion into the Chalukya territory, equipped an expeditionary force and entrusted it to the command of Śiṃṭoṇḍa, otherwise known as Paraṇjōti<sup>2</sup>. It may be ascertained from other Pallava records that the latter marched against the Chalukya capital and "defeating the host of his enemies took from them the pillar of victory, standing in the centre of Vātāpi"<sup>3</sup>. According to the above-mentioned Kūram plates the Pallavas laid waste Bādāmi, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that Pulikeśi II was killed on this occasion<sup>4</sup>. During the interval between this expedition (assigned by Dr. Fleet to A. D. 642)<sup>5</sup> and the accession of Vikramāditya I, his son, there was absolute chaos prevailing in the empire of the Chalukyas.

During this period of Chalukya decline, Kaṇṇāṭaka would seem to have been invaded and partly annexed by the Valabhi dynasty of Gujerat. This is shown by a *viragal*<sup>6</sup> found at the village of Gaddemane in Sāgar taluqa, which commemorates the

<sup>1</sup> S. I. I., I, p. 152.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gopalan, *History of the Pallavas of Kanchi*, p. 98.

<sup>3</sup> S. I. I., II, p. 508, v. 11; Ibid., I, p. 155; E. I., III, p. 280.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Smith, *Oxford History of India*, p. 207.

<sup>5</sup> Fleet *Kanarese Dynasties* p. 369.

<sup>6</sup> M. A. R. 1923, p. 83.



death of one Pettani Satyanka a commander in the army of Siladitya a title commonly applied to the Valabhi kings<sup>1</sup>. This Satyanka is said to have been slain in a battle with a King called Mahendra who is identified with Mahendravarmma I, of the Pallava family<sup>2</sup>. But the identification is not accurate; for Mahendravarmma I having reigned from A. D. 600-630 was the contemporary of Pulikesi II in the early part of his rule; and accordingly we will be forced to the absurd conclusion that the kingdom of Pulikesi was overrun by the Valabhis in the heyday of the Chalukya power<sup>3</sup>. Hence it is more reasonable to identify Mahendra with the second Pallava King of that name. This would imply that on the death of the great King Narasimha, which occurred somewhere after A. D. 650, the Valabhi King, taking advantage of the change of rulers, invaded the Pallava territory. He inflicted a crushing defeat on Mahendravarmma II and made himself master of the northern part of the Pallava dominions, which had lately been annexed by Narasimha after defeating and killing Pulikesi. This fact will probably explain the obscurity of Mahendravarmma II, about whom the Pallava inscriptions say practically nothing.

<sup>1</sup> He has been wrongly identified in the *Report* with Harshavardhana of Kanauj. The latter never succeeded in penetrating to the south of Reva, i. e. the Narbada, where Pulikesi's armies were encamped. Cf. Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 350; *E. I.*, VI, p. 10; *I. A.*, V, p. 72. Further, the defeat inflicted on Harsha by Pulikesi, as recorded in the Aihole inscription, was so great that he would not have ventured on one more campaign to the south. An earlier expedition than the one mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang and the Aihole inscription is likewise out of question, since Harsha had to contend against many enemies before he made his position secure in northern India. Hence the eulogy of Mayura, the supposed father-in-law of Bana, in which it is stated that Kuntala, Chola and Kanchi were among the countries defeated by Harsha, is not to be taken seriously. It can only be regarded as a "praise with conventional style of a poet given to punning and without any historical accuracy". *J. R. A. S.*, 1926, p. 487. However, it may be argued that Siladitya is a title also used in connection with Harsha. But against this we have the undisputed fact that Harsha is always called in the southern inscriptions 'Sri Harsha' and never 'Sri Siladitya'.

<sup>2</sup> *M. A. R.*, 1923, p. 83.

<sup>3</sup> Nor can it be maintained that this invasion took place during the period of anarchy and confusion following the civil war between Pulikesi II and Mangalesa. For if that was the case, the Aihole inscription which mentions the appearance of two invaders Appayika and Govinda at this time would y have added the name of the third.

Who this Valabhi King was it is not easy to say. However, there is a Valabhi King who is described in the records as the "lord of the earth, whose (*i. e.* earth's) two breasts are the Sahya and Vindhya mountains whose tops clothed in black clouds appear like (her) nipples"<sup>1</sup>. Now it is well known that the Sahyadri mountains stand for the Western Ghats, and the whole passage may be taken to indicate his territories which stretched far beyond Kārnāṭaka. This King was Śrī Derabhaṭṭa also called Silāditya.

It is possible that on the retirement of the Pallavas to the south, Madhuvarmma, the last scion of the early Kadamba branch, carved for himself an independent kingdom around the ancestral capital of Banavasi. There is an inscription of this King in the Shikarpur taluqua which contains a grant made to a Brahman named Nārāyaṇasarmma<sup>2</sup>. This record gives us no clue to establish the relationship between him and the other Kadamba kings whom we have spoken about. But there can be no doubt regarding the fact that he belonged to the same family as the latter. Mr. Rice places this record on palaeographical grounds in A. D. 500. But this reason alone is not sufficient to make us certain about the date. At any rate it shows that the record belonged to the time of the first dynasty of the Kadambas. Furthermore the inscription contains the specific titles of the early Kadambas, namely "who were purified by meditation on Svāmi-Mahāsēna and the group of mothers, of Mānavya-gōtra and Haritiputras." Finally this is the only Kadamba King who is not genealogically connected with the other kings of the same family. Accordingly these details might suggest that he was a son either of Bhōgivarmma or of Viṣṇuvarmma, who, we have supposed, perished with the former.

Madhuvarmma seems to have ruled without interference for a few years down to the days that witnessed the accession of Pulikeśi's son Vikramāditya. This King with the help of his grand-father, the Ganga King Durvīṇṭa, eventually re-established the supremacy of the Chalukyas<sup>3</sup>. Vikramāditya, as soon as his position on the throne was secure, started conquering the lost territories of his father. One of the kings whom he completely routed and presum-

<sup>1</sup> Mandalik, *Three Valabhi Copper-plates with Remarks*, J.B.B.R.A.S., XI, p. 352; *E. I.*, I, p. 91.

<sup>2</sup> *E. C.*, VII. Sk. 66.

<sup>3</sup> Cf Ven ana ya *Durvīṇṭa and Vikramāditya I Triveni* p. 117

ably dispossessed of his kingdom was we suspect the Kadamba Madhuvarmma. In fact the Lakshmēsvar inscription of one of his successors claims that Vikramaditya I cleft open with the thunder bolt which was his prowess the overweening precipitation of the Pāṇḍya and Chōḷa and Kēraḷa and Kadamba and other kings"<sup>1</sup>.

Nothing else is known about the early Kadamba kings. The end of this dynasty is enveloped in a cloud of silence.

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<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I A., VII, p. 111.

## CHAPTER XX

### The Chronology of the Early Kadamba Monarchs

It is not easy to fix the chronology of the Kadambas. The existing grants of the Kadamba sovereigns are not dated according to any era, but follow the regnal years of their respective donors. Attempts have, nevertheless been made to ascertain the dates of these inscriptions on palaeographical grounds. But to fix the age of these records on palaeographical evidence alone is not a particularly reliable method of investigation. Professor Jouveau-Dubreuil appears to be of the same opinion, for he says: "We have come to the conclusion that the form of the alphabet is not an absolute test for the determination of the age of antiquities and that inscriptions which by their alphabets seem to belong to different epochs, can in reality be contemporaneous" <sup>1</sup>. However the study of the other contemporary dynasties that ruled over Kārṇāṭaka have led us to certain conclusions which are not altogether unsatisfactory.

We said in the course of our narrative that Kṛṣṇavarmma of the Kadamba family married his sister to the Ganga King Tadan-gāla Mādhava. It was there shewn that the Kadamba King above-mentioned was Kṛṣṇavarmma II and not the first King of that name. In establishing this hypothesis on a sure basis we were helped not a little by the grants of the Ganga King Śrīpurusha. Now this Ganga King, of whose date we are absolutely certain, ruled in the eighth century. Following up the genealogy of these monarch we were able to show that Avinīta, one of the predecessors of Śrīpurusha, ruled from A. D. 560-600, and we gave A.D. 535-560 as the possible period over which the reign of Mādhava, the father of Avinīta, extended.

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<sup>1</sup> Jouveau-Dubreuil *Pallava Antiquities* I p 74.

We also proved in the course of our discussion that Durvinita (the son of Avinīta), Pulikeśi and Bhōgivarṃma (the son of Ajavarṃma) were all contemporaries; and we inferred from this fact that Avinīta was at least partly a contemporary of Ajavarṃma, the son of Kṛishṇavarṃma II. Further from an epithet given to the latter in the inscriptions of Avinīta, we concluded that Kṛishṇavarṃma was reigning in the days of Avinīta or had ruled a few years before. For the expression that Avinīta was "the beloved sister's son of Kṛishṇavarṃma Mahādhirāja" would certainly lead one to no other conclusion.

An astrological phenomenon mentioned in the Sangōli plates of Harivarṃma lends further support to our theory. That Harivarṃma ruled in the 6th century there can hardly be any doubt. Now according to the observations of Mr. K. N. Dikshit this remarkable phenomenon could have taken place only thrice during the 6th century. "On consulting Diwan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai of Madras", says he, "I found during the whole of the sixth century A. D. there were only three years in which the above astronomical phenomenon occurred; viz., during A. D. 507, 526 and 545"<sup>1</sup>. The first of these years is out of the question, as being too early for Harivarṃma. Of the other two we are inclined to prefer the year 545 as more probable than the year 526, and this agrees perfectly well with the chronology we have adopted. Accordingly the Sangōli plates being dated in the 8th year of his reign, Harivarṃma must have come to the throne in 537 A. D. Kṛishṇavarṃma was either already reigning as King at Tripurvata or succeeded to his father's kingdom a few years later. At all events it is abundantly clear that he had reigned some years at Tripurvata before he finally overthrew his relative Harivarṃma. This seems to have culminated in the anointing of Kṛishṇavarṃma as Mahārāja at Vaijayanti, during a horse sacrifice, which important event took place somewhere after the years 545 A. D. It is clear from what has been said that Kṛishṇavarṃma II had a fairly long reign. It will not be too much, if we assign to him a reign of 25 years, for the Sirsi plates of this sovereign are dated in the 19th year of his reign; and it is possible that he reigned five or six years more.

Kṛishṇavarṃma would thus appear to have ruled from about 540-565 A. D. when he was succeeded by his son Ajavarṃma. We

<sup>1</sup> *E. I.* XIV p 165

may suppose that this monarch was in undisturbed possession of the throne for a few years. But before the close of the decade he had to contend with a new enemy of the Kadambas in the person of the formidable Kīrttivarmma I, the Chalukya King. Our reason for believing that it was Ajavarmma and not Kṛishṇavarmma that was worsted by Kīrttivarmma is that while Kṛishṇavarmma is highly extolled in the grant of his grand-son Bhōgivarmma, Ajavarmma's name occurs without any *virudas* at all. The inscription says: "A sun in the firmament of this family was Kṛishṇavarmma-mahārāja, whose son was Ajavarmma"<sup>1</sup>. After this event Ajavarmma continued to rule over his kingdom as a Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara of the Chalukya Emperors, and his rule as a feudatory ruler seems to have extended to the first years of the seventh century.

It is certain that Bhōgivarmma ascended the throne of Vaijayanti before the year 609. We are almost sure that he succeeded to the dominions of his father during, or just before, the civil war that ensued between Mangalēśa and Pulikeśi. We said above that he probably took advantage of the confusion consequent on the civil war and renounced his allegiance to the Chalukyas. He must therefore, have succeeded to the throne about A. D. 605 or 606. He ruled as an independent monarch till the year 610, when he was defeated and perhaps slain by Pulikeśi. With him the first Kadamba dynasty virtually comes to an end; and though we are told about the existence of a son in one of his inscriptions, this prince never appears as a ruling sovereign. It is possible that he perished with his father in battle.

We have almost settled the chronology of the later Kadamba kings, beginning with Harivarmma and Kṛishṇavarmma. Now we know that Harivarmma reigned for a very long time. The Ajjibad-Sirsi plates are dated in the 35th year of his reign<sup>2</sup> and it is likely that having come to the throne when sufficiently young he reigned about 40 years and died in 537 A. D. This would take us as far back as 497.

We said above that on the death of his father, Mṛigēśa, the throne of Vaijayanti was occupied for a time by Mandhātrivarmma to the exclusion of the heir-apparent Ravivarmma. We have two grants of this Mandhātri dated respectively in the second and the

<sup>1</sup> M. A. R., 1918, p. 40.

<sup>2</sup> E I XVI p 268 *Progress Report A S W I* 1917 18 p 35

fifth years of his reign. We are aware that Ravivarṃma was very young, when he ascended the throne and this probably tempted Viṣṇuvārṃma to make a bid for the throne of Vaijayanti. This fact shows that Ravivarṃma did not allow the usurper to remain in peaceful possession of the kingdom for a long time, but asserted his rights at the earliest opportunity. Accordingly we may give this monarch a reign of seven years at the most and this will bring us to 490 A. D.

It is probable that Mrigēśavarṃma did not reign for a long time. The records that we possess do not go beyond his eighth regnal year. We may give him a reign of fifteen years, from 475-490 A. D.

Śāntivarṃma, the father of Mrigēśa, probably ruled for a period of 25 years. It seems likely that he was far advanced in age when he passed away. For, as we shall presently show, both of his brothers died during the short reign of his son Mrigēśa.

We have already remarked that on the death of Śāntivarṃma, Kṛṣṇavarṃma and Kumāravārṃma, his brothers, established for themselves independent kingdoms, the one in the south and the other in the east. But both Kṛṣṇavarṃma and Kumāravārṃma died during the reign of Mrigēśavarṃma. For we have mentioned the undisputed fact that Viṣṇuvārṃma the son of Kṛṣṇavarṃma was installed on the throne through the help of a Pallava monarch. From this we concluded that Mrigēśavarṃma, who was then reigning at Vaijayanti, probably tried to prevent his accession and annexed the northern territories to his kingdom. That Kumāravārṃma also died in the reign of Mrigēśa is clear from the fact that his son Mandhātri, usurped the throne of Vaijayanti on the death of Mrigēśa. Thus we may give to these brothers of Śāntivarṃma a period of ten years each.

The period of rule that we assign to the kings that reigned before Śāntivarṃma is largely imaginary. However we are guided with regard to this conjecture by two facts that we come across in the history of Southern India. Mayūravārṃma, as stated in the account of his reign, took advantage of the confusion caused by Samudra Gupta's southern expedition and set himself up as an independent ruler. This southern expedition of Samudra Gupta occurred between the years 340 and 350 A. D. We may therefore, put down 345 A. D., as the possible date when Mayūravārṃma founded the Kadamba dynasty. The second clue is furnished by one of the grants of Yuvamahārāja Kākustha issued from Palāśika which is dated in the 80th victorious year. The year purports by

strict translation" says Dr. Fleet, who first published this inscription, "to be his own eightieth year. But it cannot be the eightieth year of his *Yuvarāja*-ship; and, even if such a style of dating were usual, it can hardly be even the eightieth year of his life. It must therefore be the eightieth year from the *paṭṭahandha* of his ancestor Mayūravarman which is mentioned in the Tālgund, inscription"<sup>1</sup> Accordingly this seems to be the only attempt hitherto found in the Kadamba inscriptions to create a new system of reckoning which could be called Kadamba era. We have remarked that the above grant was made, when Kākustha was governing as *Yuvarāja* or "junior king" at Palāsika. We know from the Talagunda inscription that King Raghu was the brother of Kākustha, and on his death was succeeded by the latter. We may perhaps infer from this that Kākusthavarmma issued these Halsi plates, when he was ruling as viceroy under his brother King Raghu, and that he bore the title of *Yuvarāja*. This would mean that the eightieth victorious year, mentioned in the plates, fell somewhere within the reign of Raghu. Possibly it corresponds to some of the last years of his reign, when having no hopes of getting an heir, King Raghu appointed his brother Kākustha heir-apparent. Thus as Mayūravarman founded the kingdom in about 345 A.D., this eightieth year of victory will be 425 A.D. We may give five years more to Raghu; for when Kākusthavarmma made the grant, he was still the *Yuvarāja*.

Now the fact that Raghu was succeeded by his brother Kākustha would mean that the period of the former was rather brief. We might therefore give him a reign of ten years, and this will bring us to A. D. 420 as the possible year when he inaugurated his rule.

The remaining 75 years may be distributed among the first three sovereigns of the dynasty, giving them a period of 25 years each.

The gap of twenty years between the close of Raghu's rule in A. D. 430 and the beginning of the reign of Śāntivarman in A.D. 450 is filled up by the reign of Kākustha. We give him this short period, for he must have passed middle age when he succeeded his brother.

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<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 291.



## P A R T III

# **Banavasi Under Foreign Domination**

## Banavasi Under the Chalukyas

**T**he fortunes of the Kadambas suffered an eclipse when they were vanquished and dispossessed of their kingdom by the Chalukya King Palikeśi II. There is a blank of almost 250 years in the history of the Kadambas from A. D. 607 to 973-74. In this blank period of their history the ancient capital of Banavasi apparently changed many hands.

The earliest mention of the Banavasi province after the Kadamba downfall is in an inscription of the Ālupa king Guṇasāgara, where it appears under the name of Kadamba-maṇḍala. This King is placed at about 675 A. D., and the grant represents him as the ruler of the Kadamba-maṇḍala<sup>1</sup>.

How this province which obviously included the principal part of the Kadamba dominions, passed into the hands of the Ālupas will be clear from a brief review of the Chalukya connections with the Ālupas.

The political relations between the Chalukyas and the Ālupas can be traced as far back as 567 A. D. The Mahākūta inscription of Mangalēśa which is dated in this year gives a list of the victories of Kīrttivarmma I, his brother, which included those over the kings of Vaṅga, Aṅga, Kaṭṭiṅga, Vaṭṭūra, Magadha, Madraka, Kēraḷa Ganga, Mūshaka, Pāṇḍya, Dramiḷa, Chōḷiya, Āḷuka and Vaijayaṅti<sup>2</sup>.

The Ālupas however, were not completely subjugated by Kīrttivarmma I; for the conflict seems to have been carried in the

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VI, Kp, 38.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., XIX, p. 19; E. I., VII,

reign of the next Chalukya King Mangalaśa, who along with the Kalachurias, is reported to have subdued the Alupas<sup>1</sup>.

The Alupas henceforward seem not to have been recalcitrant, and accordingly the records of subsequent kings mention them as enjoying the status of feudatory chiefs under their Chalukya overlords. Thus for instance the Aihole inscription of Pulikeśi II, dated in Ś. 556 (expired) or A. D. 634-5, records that although "in former days they had acquired happiness by renouncing the seven sins, the Ganga and Alupa lords, being subdued by his dignity, were always intoxicated by drinking the nectar of close attendance upon him"<sup>2</sup>. This would probably imply that during the civil war between Pulikeśi and Mangalēśa, the Alupas along with other kings once more asserted their independence, but when the Chalukya Pulikeśi emerged victorious out of the struggle and started his career of conquest, the Alupas of their own accord made their submission to him. That they continued to be in this state of servitude under the Chalukyas, even when the fortunes of the latter were at a low ebb after the disastrous end of Pulikeśi's reign, is clear from a record of Vinayāditya dated in 694 A. D. About him the inscription says: "By him the Pallavas, Kaṭabhras, Kēraṭas, Haihayas, Viṣas, Maṭavas, Chōlas, Pāṇḍyas, and others were brought into service equally with the Alupas, Gangas and others of old standing"<sup>3</sup>.

It is possible that Pulikeśi II, after reducing the Kadambas to subjection, wished to render them incapable of further mischief by completely destroying their power. To realise this end he deprived them of their possessions which he parcelled out among his faithful feudatories. We conclude this from the fact that the Alupas received the Kadamba-maṇḍala<sup>4</sup>, which probably consisted of the major portion of the Kadamba kingdom; while the Sēndrakas, who were connected by marriage with the Chalukya family<sup>5</sup>, were invested with the government of the Nagar-khaṇḍa district, i. e. Nagar-khaṇḍa division of the Banavasi-nāḍ<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 61.

<sup>2</sup> *E. I.*, VI, p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> *E. C.*, XI, Dg, 66; Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I A, VII, p. 303.

<sup>4</sup> *E. C.*, VI, Kp, 38.

<sup>5</sup> *E. I.*, III, p. 52.

<sup>6</sup> Fleet *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions* I A XIX p 145.

The earliest name of the Ālupa monarchs according to the inscriptions hitherto found, is that of Kundavarmmarasa, who is described as the predecessor of Guṇasāgara in the above-mentioned Kigga record<sup>1</sup>. He was probably the Ālupa King who became the vassal of the Chalukya Pulikeśi II and was appointed by him to rule over the Kadamba-maṇḍala or the Banavasi province. For if Guṇasāgara could be placed at about 675 A. D.<sup>2</sup>, we may presume that his predecessor Kundavarmmarasa was a contemporary of Pulikeśi, who lived from 609-642 A. D.

The next ruler of the Kadamba-maṇḍala was Guṇasāgara who, we may suppose, was the son of Kundavarmma. The Kigga inscription above referred to contains a grant made by this King to the Kilgaṇa god, and incidentally mentions the names of his Queen, the Mahādēvi and his son Chitravāhana<sup>3</sup>. We may conclude that he was a dependent of the Chalukya King Vikramāditya I.

Guṇasāgara was succeeded by his son, the above-mentioned Chitravāhana I<sup>4</sup>. It is not possible to ascertain when the latter ascended the throne, but it is at all events evident that he was a contemporary and subordinate of the Chalukya King Vinayāditya, for when that monarch had encamped at Chitrasēdu, the Ālupa King requested him to grant a village called Saluvoge, in the Viśhaya of Eḍevolal, to a Brahman called Divākaraśarmma, a scholar proficient in the Vēdas. The date of the inscription is June 22nd, 692 A. D.<sup>5</sup>. Two years later, when the same Vinayāditya was at his victorious camp at Karanjapatra, Chitravāhana induced his overlord to grant the village of Kiṛu-Kāgāmāsi to a Brahman named Isānaśarmma of the Vatsya gōtra<sup>6</sup>.

Chitravāhana I seems to have been a successful ruler. He was also called Chitravāha and bore the title of Mahārāja. He ruled over the Banavasi province and his own hereditary district of Eḍevolal<sup>7</sup>. It appears from an inscription of his found at Kigga, that he also held Pombuchcha<sup>8</sup>. We may infer from the two inscriptions above referred to, that he was a patron of learning and a promoter of religion in his kingdom. The fact that the Chalukya King granted his request on the two occasions would perhaps show that he was

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VI, Kp, 38.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 571; Fleet, *Sanscrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., XIX p 152

<sup>4</sup> E. C. VIII Sb 571

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 571.

<sup>7</sup> E. C. XI Dg, 66

<sup>8</sup> E. C. VI Kp 37

enjoying the special favour of his overlord. It is also likely that the latter counted on the Alupa King, who is styled 'Mahārāja' and an illustrious King<sup>1</sup>, as a powerful and faithful ally, worthy of receiving such consideration.

The Kadamba-maṇḍala remained in the possession of the Alupas even after the downfall of their overlords the Western Chalukyas of Bādāmi. This will be shown in the section dealing with the Rāshtrakūṭas.

The other feudatory family which met with steady preferment at the hands of the Chalukyas was that of the Sēndrakas. We saw above that these chiefs were the mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras of the Kadamba kings in the heyday of their rule<sup>2</sup>. But with the destruction of the power of the latter the Sēndrakas transferred their allegiance to the Chalukya house. Nevertheless it was not through political necessity alone that they accepted the overlordship of the Chalukyas. There appears to have existed a stronger reason for this intimate relationship and this was that the two families were closely connected with each other by marriage. The Chiplun grant of Pulikeśi II tells us that the Sēndraka prince Śrīvallabha-Sēnānandarāja was his maternal uncle<sup>3</sup>. Furthermore the very object of the inscription, which was to announce a grant made by this Sēndraka prince to a Brahman, implies a special favour shown to the Sēndrakas by Pulikeśi.

It is possible that in the task of establishing the Chalukya supremacy this King was rendered substantial help by his maternal uncle the Sēndraka ruler. It was probably because the Chalukya monarch considered the Sēndraka King as his faithful ally, that he held him in such high favour, and like the other feudatories of the Chalukyas, the Sēndrakas were also given a share of the Kadamba-maṇḍala.

The successors of this Sēndraka Śrīvallabha Sēnānandarāja continued in the service of the Western Chalukyas. The inscriptions of the Sēndrakas that have been found in southern Gujerat show that they came to that country in the employ of their liege-lords the Chalukyas and were rewarded with grants of districts on the completion of its conquest<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 571.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., VI, p. 32.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Buhler *Bagumba Grant of Nikumbhalasakti* I. A. XVIII pp 266-267

Among the Sendrakas that ruled over the part of Kadamba-maṇḍala that had been made over to them, we find the name of Dēvaśakti, who is spoken of as a feudatory of the Chalukya king Vikramāditya, the successor of Pulikeśi II. The inscription that gives us this piece of information is dated in the 10th year of the reign of Vikramāditya and corresponds to A. D. 664. It mentions a grant of a field at the village of Raṭṭagiri to one Kēśavaswāmi and his son Prabhākaraśarmma by Vikramāditya at the request of the famous king Dēvaśakti of the Sēndraka family<sup>1</sup>. This King was probably the son of Śrīvallabha Sēnānandarāja, since he appears to have immediately succeeded the latter.

More definite information regarding the fact that the Sēndrakas ruled over the Kadamba-maṇḍala is derived from the lithic records of the Mahārāja Pogilli. Though the Banavasi province was never included within the sphere of their rule, there is sufficient epigraphical evidence to show that they possessed at least one of the provinces contiguous to Banavasi. According to the Belagami inscription of the same Sēndraka King, the latter was the feudatory of the Chalukya King Vinayāditya (A. D. 680-697), and his government comprised of the Nagarkhaṇḍa district, *i. e.* the Nagarkhaṇḍa division of the Banavasi province, and the village of Jedugūr, which may perhaps be identified with Jedda in the Sorab taluqa, in the neighbourhood of Banavasi<sup>2</sup>.

The successors of Pogilli very probably remained as the dependents of the Western Chalukyas till the downfall of the latter in the eighth century, when in the general subversion of old dynasties the Sēndrakas were completely ousted from the Dekkan.

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Five Copper-plate Grants of the Western Chalukya Family*, *J. B. R. A. S.*, XVI, pp. 228-229.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet, *Sanscrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., XIX, p. 145; *E. C.*, VIII, Sk, 154.

## CHAPTER II

### Banavasi under the Rashtrakutas

The middle of the eighth century witnessed important changes in the political situation of the Dekkan. The growing ascendancy of the Western Chalukyas was suddenly arrested by the rise to power of a new line of kings who before long superseded the former as paramount rulers in the country. This new dynasty were the Rāshtrakūṭas of Mālkhēd whose reigning sovereign at this time was Khadgāvalōka-Srī-Dantidurgarājadēva. His own record, dated in 754 A. D., tells us that he acquired the supreme sovereignty by conquering Vallabha (i. e. the Western Chalukya King Kīrttivarmma II), and adds that with but a little force he quickly overcame the boundless Karṇāṭaka army, meaning thereby the Chalukya troops, which had been expert in defeating the lord of Kanchī, the king of Kēraḷa, the Chōḷas and the Pāṇdyas<sup>1</sup>. His successor Kṛishṇa firmly established the Rāshtrakūṭa supremacy by finally overthrowing Kīrttivarmma II. The Waṇī grant of one of his descendents informs us that king Kṛishṇa "quickly tore away the goddess of fortune from the Chalukya family, which was hard to be overcome by others"<sup>2</sup>.

With the rise to prominence of the Rāshtrakūṭas a few wholesome reforms were introduced into the administrative system then prevailing in the Dekkan. One of the most far reaching of these reforms was the division of the Empire into various provinces ruled over by governors, whom the Emperor appointed at his pleasure. Thus there sprang into being the province of Banavasi Twelve Thousand with probably the ancient city of Vaijayanti for

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *and Old Canarese Inscriptions I A XI*, p 114.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p 160

its capital. It is likely that it included the old Kadamba-maṇḍala, which was under the administration of the Ālupa kings.

We have said above that this Kadamba or Vanavāsi-maṇḍala was ruled by the Ālupas throughout the period of the Chalukya predominance. Under the Rāshtrakūtas also it continued to be governed by these chiefs for well nigh half a century till about the year 800 A. D.

At the beginning of the 9th century however, the then governor of Banavasi, the Ālupa King Chitravāhana II, attempted to throw off the Rāshtrakūta yoke by rebelling against his overlord, Gōvinda III. But the attempt proved abortive and the Ālupa king was in consequence dispossessed of his kingdom<sup>1</sup>. Before we describe the fight itself, it will not be out of place here to examine the import of the insubordination on the part of this feudatory of the Rāshtrakūtas.

The first thing that strikes one's mind in this connection is that the Ālupas, in order to revolt against a powerful monarch like Gōvinda III, should have gathered enormous strength during the period of chaos that preceded the establishment of the Rāshtrakūta supremacy.

Furthermore the Ālupa records tell us that Chitravāhana II successfully prevailed against one Raṇasāgara<sup>2</sup>. The latter was probably a prince of the blood royal and contested the throne with him<sup>3</sup>. Elated by his victory against the rival claimant it is likely that Chitravāhana next aimed at freeing himself from the Rāshtrakūta control. Accordingly he disregarded the supreme authority of Gōvinda III, the Rāshtrakūta sovereign. This provoked the anger of Kolli-Pallava-Noḷamba who directed against the rebel, at the wish of course of the Rāshtrakūta King, a chief called Kākarasa. A desperate fight ensued, and as a result the Ālupa King lost a large part of his kingdom, which the Rāshtrakūta monarch handed over to Rājāditya<sup>4</sup>. The district that was thus forfeited was the Banavasi Twelve Thousand, which Rājāditya thereafter ruled in the name of Gōvinda III. This governor is then said to have extended his rule as far as the ocean<sup>5</sup>. The record does not tell us who this

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 10.

<sup>2</sup> E. I., IX, p. 18.

<sup>3</sup> Cf Ibid p 17

<sup>4</sup> E C V I Sb 0

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.



Koli-Pallava Nollamba was. But Mr Rice states that he was the same as the Kollyaśaśa or the Kollāśaśa, one of the grandchildren of the Pallava King, whom the Gangas took under their protection after the crossing defeat which the former had sustained from the Ganga King Bhūvibhāna. "They may then for", continues Mr. Rice, "have grown up at and remained with the Ganga court as hostages, and were employed by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, who had seized the country". Accordingly he concludes that "Rājāditya was the son of Koli-Pallava-Nollamba and the same as the Nollambārāditya, who was advised (by his father in the exercise of his paternal authority) to attack Chitravāhana and to reduce him to obedience"<sup>1</sup>.

The next inscription, which mentions this governor of the Banavasi-nāḍ is a viragatāśāśanaśāśana, and which is assigned to the same date as the above record. It speaks of a king bearing the title of Rāja-paramēśvara and says: "When he had besieged and ruined Manamaśaśa's son Aṅga-Sīṅga he took his own life, slew many wrestling warriors, and came to Indra's world". It is not possible to identify this legend at the present stage of research. He was possibly a petty chief who raided the above-mentioned village.

The next name that is met with in the list of the governors of Banavasi is that of Eṅgyammarasa. Mr. Rice has assigned him on palaeographical grounds to A. D. 800<sup>2</sup>. But if we accept this date, there will arise the difficulty of having two governors ruling one and the same province in the same year. However as the inscription is not dated and as we know that palaeography alone is not a good auxiliary to chronology, we need not take this date as decisive.

Nor can we place him before 800 A. D. for it is certain that down to this date the Banavasi-nāḍ was under the administration of the Ālupa King Chitravāhana II. About the year 800 the latter was superseded in the government of this province by Rājāditya. Accordingly if we give this prince a rule of fifteen years, Eṅgyammarasa may be said to have assumed the government of Banavasi

<sup>1</sup> E. C., III, Sb, 160.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., IV, Intr., p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> E. C. VIII Sb 22.

<sup>4</sup> E. C. VIII Sb 9.

in 814, the last year of Gōvinda III<sup>1</sup>. The above-mentioned inscription of Eṛeyammarasa by referring to his overlord Gōvinda III, plainly indicates that Eṛeyammarasa succeeded Rājāditya in the lifetime of his sovereign Gōvinda III.

There is an undated grant of the Rāsaṅtrakūṭa King Amōghavarsha I (A. D. 811-878) at Nīḍagundi in the Dhārwar taluqua, which records that Baṅkēyarasa, of the Chellakēṭana family, had the government of Banavasi 'Twelve Thousand, the Belgali Three Hundred and the Puṭigere, i. e. the Puṭigere or Lakṣmēśvar Three Hundred<sup>2</sup>. Now presuming that Eṛeyammarasa ruled for a period of twenty years, we get 835 A. D. as the first year of the administration of Baṅkēyarasa.

The *prāśasti* of the *Uttarapurāṇa* by the Jain writer Guṇabhadra, while mentioning that Baṅkēyarasa's son Lōkāditya was enjoying the whole of the Banavasi province in Ś. 820, when this work was completed, affords the interesting piece of information that 'Baṅkāpura, the greatest of cities, . . . had been made by his father by his own name'<sup>3</sup>. But the expression used here does not make it clear whether Baṅkēyarasa founded and built the city of Baṅkāpura, or whether he only named after himself a city that was already existing<sup>4</sup>.

Baṅkēyarasa was succeeded in the government of Banavasi by one Śaṅkaragaṇḍa for whom we have a date falling in A. D. 870<sup>5</sup>.

Śaṅkaragaṇḍa was the next governor, who held office in the latter part of the reign of Amōghavarsha I and the early period of that of his son Kṛṣṇaraj. We derive this information from the three records of Śaṅkaragaṇḍa that have been noticed. But all the three records are unfortunately undated and so it is not possible to know definitely when he succeeded to the governorship of Banavasi. However giving Baṅkēyarasa a rule of twenty years, and in his a period of ten, we may probably arrive at a date which is not far removed from the initial year of the term of office of Śaṅkaragaṇḍa. Moreover this date (865 A. D.) as it falls in the reign of Amōghavarsha is consistent with the information gathered from the records of Śaṅkaragaṇḍa, that he was the feudatory

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., XII, p. 219

<sup>2</sup> *E. I.*, VII, pp. 213-214. Cf. Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 403.

<sup>3</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., XII, pp. 216 and 217

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* note 23 XXXI p. 222.

<sup>5</sup> *E. C. V I* III 13

of the former. The other two inscriptions that speak of Saṅkaragaṇḍa belong to the time of Kṛiṣṇa III. They are found respectively at Kyāsanūr and Tālgund and record that the Mahāsāmāntādhipati Śaṅkaragaṇḍa was governing the Banavasi province<sup>2</sup>. They also tell us that he belonged to the Chellakētana family.

Śaṅkaragaṇḍa was succeeded by the Mahāsāmānta Lokāditya, of the same family. Three inscriptions of this governor have come down to us. The earliest of these records, found at Kuṇḍimallihalli in the Dhārwar District, is dated Ś. 815 or A. D. 893-94. It describes Lōkāditya as a Mahāsāmānta, and says that he was governing the Banavasi Twelve Thousand<sup>3</sup>. The second, which is dated Ś. 820 (current) corresponding to A. D. 897, speaks of him as governing the same province under his overlord Kṛiṣṇa II (888—911-12) at the town of Vaṅkāpura, which is the modern Baṅkāpur in the Dhārwar District<sup>4</sup>. The third record at Adūr gives him Ś. 826 (expired) or A. D. 905 as his last date<sup>5</sup>.

We are told in the second of these inscriptions that Lōkāditya was the son of Baṅkēyarasa<sup>6</sup>. It is possible that Śaṅkaragaṇḍa who immediately preceded him, was his brother who died without an heir. They were probably very young at their father's death, and so Indra was appointed to act as governor till they came to age. This explains the break in the succession of these rulers.

In about 910 A. D. we have one Sēnāvarisa, ruling the Banavasi Twelve Thousand as the feudatory of the same Rāshtrakūṭa monarch Kṛiṣṇa II<sup>7</sup>. It is not improbable that he also belonged to the same Chellakētana dynasty, for his name, as it ends in *arasa*, sounds very similar to Baṅkēyarasa and Kaliviṭṭarasa, who were Chellakētanas. The inscription that mentions his name states that Kosigara Jayamalla, who was the *magatin* of the Thousand of Kumbise, was a subordinate of Sēnāvarisa<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *E. I.*, XVI, p. 215; Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, (1st ed.), p. 35. This record is at Kyasanur.

<sup>2</sup> *E. I.*, XVI, p. 283; Fleet, l. c. The record at Tālgund is not published.

<sup>3</sup> *E. I.*, XVI, pp. 279-280; Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 411, note 3. Lokade is the same as Lokaditya.

<sup>4</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., XII, p. 217.

<sup>5</sup> Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 411, note 3. This record is not published either.

<sup>6</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., XII, p. 217.

<sup>7</sup> *E. C.*, VIII, Sb, 91.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

The next governor of Banavasi was the Mahāsāmanta Kaliviṭṭarasa. He undoubtedly belonged to the same Chellakētana family, for the inscriptions expressly mention that he was born in the race of the Chellakētanas. We suspect that he and Sēnāvarisa were brothers and the sons of Lōkāḍitya. The epigraph from which this information is derived makes the significant statement that he slew "the Banavāsi-Galamba (or Kadamba) Āyvavarmnā"<sup>1</sup>. This might perhaps allude to an attempt made by one of the scions of the fallen Kadamba dynasty to overhaul the government and wrest the kingdom of his ancestors from its present owners.

The record being dated in 912 A. D. this event evidently happened before that year and is probably to be placed during the administration of Sēnāvarisa. The insurrection was perhaps widespread and Sēnāvarisa was overpowered by the rebels, whereupon Kaliviṭṭarasa took in his hands the reins of government. This hypothesis apparently explains the unusually short period of Sēnāvarisa's rule.

The other inscription that mentions the name of Kaliviṭṭarasa is dated A. D. 918 and belongs to the reign of Kannara or Kṛishna II<sup>2</sup>. It records that when the former was governing the province of Banavasi, Sattarasa Nāgārjjuna, the nāl-gavunḍa of the Nagarakhaṇḍa Seventy, died in the execution of Kaliviṭṭa's orders, on which the Rāshtrakūṭa Emperor gave the office to Jakkiyabbe, the widow of the deceased. This is for the first time we find women being appointed to such responsible positions. Jakkiyabbe would appear to have held the office with great success for seven years, when she was incapacitated by some bodily ailment on which she resigned everything to her daughter. Then she came to the *tīrtha* of Bandanike and expired in performance of the Jaina vows. The officers mentioned in the record are the *perggaḍe* Nanduvara Kaliga and the *perggaḍe* of Konḍangeyūr, the survivor of the Sundiga tribe<sup>3</sup>.

It appears from the two viragals discovered at Soratur (Honnālitaluqua) that the rule of Kaliviṭṭarasa over Banavasi was interrupted about the year 934 by one Sāntara, who is there said to be ruling this province<sup>4</sup>. It is likely that his services were requisitioned in some other part of the Empire and thither he was sent by his

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., Sb, 88.

<sup>2</sup> This date is evidently wrong, for the last date we have for Kannara II is 913-14.

<sup>3</sup> E C VII Sk, 219

<sup>4</sup> E C, VII Hl 21 and 22.

royal master. In fact Gōvinda IV (c. 912-925) was believed by the Eastern Chalukya records to have been engaged in a war against the Eastern Chalukya king. One of these records tells us that Amma I (912-925), the Eastern Chalukya ruler, used his sword against some feodatory relative who had joined the party of his natural adversaries, and then over to himself the subjects and the army of his father and his grandfather.<sup>1</sup> The meaning of this seems to be that some of the members of his family had entered into conspiracy with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas to prevent his accession to the throne of V. g. l. Another record annals that Chālukya-Bhīma II (931-940) destroyed a palatiny that was sent against him by Gōvinda IV.<sup>2</sup> It is likely the case that Kalivittarasa was fighting the Eastern Chalukyas about the year 934, and his place at Banavasi is filled by the above-mentioned Sāntara.

Kalivittarasa took over charge of his divisions as soon as the war with the Eastern Chalukyas was concluded. And so it is that Kumāra mentions him as ruling over a division of the Banavasi. The Thosana inscription mentions that two provinces at Kyāṣṇā and the Dhārwa. It is likely that Gōvinda IV (c. 912-925) described him as governor in the wake of the Banavasi Twelve Thousand as feudatory of Kṛṣṇa III.<sup>3</sup>

The province of Banavasi next passed into the hands of the Ganga prince Salyavākya Konguvaranna. The Aṭkū inscription which is dated in or just before 945-50 tells us that Kṛṣṇa III fought and killed Rājāditya, the Chōla king, a son of the famous Kṛṣṇa I; but the actual slayer of the Chōla king was the Western Ganga prince Salyavākya-Konguvaranna-Narmada-Būṭa, who killed him treacherously while they were on a gellar, taking the air; and that in recognition of this Kṛṣṇa III gave Būṭa the Banavasi Twelve Thousand province, the Puṭigere Three Hundred, the Beṭvola Three Hundred, the Kisukāḍ Seventy, and the Bāgenāḍ Seventy.<sup>4</sup>

The Gangas were however not long in possession of the Banavasi Twelve Thousand. After a period of four or five years it was

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *The Chronology of the Eastern Chalukya Kings*, I. A., XX, p. 246.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 270; Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 417.

<sup>3</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 83.

<sup>4</sup> E. I., XVI, pp. 281, 282-283; Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 420.

<sup>5</sup> E. I., I, p. 167.

again restored to the Chelaketana family. A viragal found at Chikka-Chauti represents Rasanna, the son of Kaliviṭṭarasa, as governing the province in 945 A. D.<sup>1</sup> This division had been handed over to the Gangas, probably because Rasanna was still a minor at the time of his father's death, and an important province, such as Banavasi was, required a good administrator.

Rasanna was the last of the governors belonging to the Chellakēṭana or Chellapatāka family, who held the Banavasi province for a period of over a hundred years. The Chellakēṭanas were probably a family of mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras under the Rāshtrakūṭa kings, and their faithful service commended them to be promoted to the governorship of this province. Indeed the fact that this important division of the Rāshtrakūṭa Empire was so long in their possession would suggest an attempt made in the time of the Rāshtrakūṭas to establish there a hereditary succession of mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras.

The first member of this family whose name is known to us is Baṅkēyarasa, who is spoken of as the father of Lōkāditya in one of the above-referred inscriptions of the latter<sup>2</sup>. The same record says that Lōkāditya was the son of Chellakēṭana and the brother of Chelladnavaja. We may infer from this that Baṅkēyarasa probably had the title of Chellakēṭana and the dynasty which he founded came to be known after his name. Their rank was that of the mahāsāmantas and they carried the *Chellapatāka* or Javelin-banner. The inscriptions of later rulers (e. g. Kaliviṭṭarasa) show that they were also entitled to the five big drums<sup>3</sup>. They seem to have been originally known as the Padmālaya family, for Lōkāditya claims in his record to have 'caused the bud, which was the family of the Padmālaya, to blossom'<sup>4</sup>.

In 954 A. D. the Banavasi Twelve Thousand was made over to one Māchiyarasa or Nārakki-arasa, who ruled over the province for a period of six years. He was born in the Brahma-Kshatriya Māṭūr-vaṃśa, and was entitled to the band of five chief instruments. He had the titles of Mahāsāmantādhipati and the boon lord of Trikunda-pura. He had the horse for his crest and the mirror flag. The record providing all these details says that he was acting as king of (Banavasi) Twelve Thousand from Eḍe-nāḍ, which was

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 240.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions- I A-* XII. p 217

<sup>3</sup> E. C. VII Sk 219- VIII Sb 83

<sup>4</sup> Fleet L c

evidently the seat of his government<sup>1</sup>. Another record belonging to the same period tells us that he was ruling the Banavasi Thirty-two Thousand. Mr. Rice holds this inscription to be corrupt and thinks that the Banavasi Thirty-two Thousand should be Banavasi Twelve Thousand<sup>2</sup>.

Māchiyarasa was succeeded in about 960 A. D. by one Javanaiśa. The record which mentions his name is dated A. D. 935.<sup>3</sup>

This governor was in his turn succeeded by Gobbindarasa who held office for a very short period of two years<sup>4</sup>.

It would seem from an early record of the Chalukya King Chattiga-dēva that in about 967-68 A. D. he conquered the Banavasi and the adjoining provinces from the Rāshtrakūṭas and set himself up as an independent ruler<sup>5</sup>. This inscription would also have us believe that the Banavasi Twelve Thousand was at this time ruled by his feudatory a Kadamba. His name is unfortunately effaced from the inscription, but in all likelihood it was Iṣivabēḍaṅga-dēva, the father of Chaṭṭa or Kundama, who appears a decade later as the feudatory of the Chalukya King Taila<sup>6</sup>, after the restoration by him of the Chalukya power. It was possibly on account of the affection he had for his overlord that Iṣivabēḍaṅga-dēva gave his son the name of Chaṭṭa. All this would perhaps point out to an alliance concluded between the two dynasties which were but three centuries before each other's bitterest enemies.

It is however rather perplexing to find this Chalukya King, ruling independently over a part of the Rāshtrakūṭa Empire at a period when the power of the latter was still in the ascendant<sup>7</sup>. Nevertheless as the fact remains undoubted, we may surmise that Chatta-dēva was a predecessor of Tailapa, and that he made an attempt at restoring the fortunes of the Chalukya family—thus anticipating Taila, who is known to have finally overthrown the Rāshtrakūṭa supremacy in A. D. 973-74<sup>8</sup>. Chaṭṭa-dēva probably declared his

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 474, 476 and 70.

<sup>2</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 351, Trans., p. 62.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Sb, 202 and 203.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., Sb, 326 and 531.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., Sb, 465.

<sup>6</sup> E. I., XV, p. 333.

<sup>7</sup> The information about this ruler is so scanty that it is not possible to determine his place in the Chalukya genealogy

<sup>8</sup> Fleet, *Taila I A* XXI p 167

independence during the weak rule of the Rashtrakuta King Kottiga. We know that it was in this King's reign that the Rashtrakutas were defeated in battle by Siyaka Harsa, one of the Paramara kings of Mālwa, and either he or his successor Muñja sacked Mālkhēd, the Rāshtrakūṭa capital<sup>1</sup>. Chaṭṭa-dēva, it is possible, profited by this misfortune of the Rāshtrakūṭas and established for himself an independent kingdom in the south.

But Kottiga was soon succeeded by Kakka II, who retrieved considerably the losses sustained by the family during the previous reign<sup>2</sup>. He very probably attacked the Chalukya King Chaṭṭa-dēva and on the latter's making his submission appointed him as the governor of Banavasi. Accordingly we find him mentioned in the inscriptions of 972 and 973 as the feudatory of the Rāshtrakūṭa King Kakka II or Kakkala-dēva II<sup>3</sup>. Both records represent him as "ruling the kingdom of the Banavasi Twelve Thousand". The first one in addition says that his son-in-law was one Kannayya of Kalladi.

We cannot say what happened to this Chaṭṭa-dēva. Two conjectures are possible: that he died before Tailapa overthrew Kakka II, or that he was promoted to a higher office by his kinsmen on his success.

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<sup>1</sup> *E. I.*, I, pp. 225-226.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., XII, p. 268. Here he is said to have conquered the Gurjaras, the Cholas, the Hunas and the Pandyas.

<sup>3</sup> *E. C.*, VIII, Sb, 455 and 454.



## PART IV

### The Kadambas of Hangal

## CHAPTER I

### Foundation of the Dynasty

Though Chatta-dēva's success was short-lived, it was nevertheless becoming increasingly clear that the Rāshtrakūṭa Empire was fast declining. The Paramāra kings of Mālwa were continually attacking it from without, while it is evident from the incident of Chatta, related in the last chapter, that there was a strong movement against the Rāshtrakūṭas within the Empire itself. This Chatta of the Chalukya family was probably the leader of the Dekkanese opposition to the occupation and rule of a north Indian dynasty<sup>1</sup>. But this King, having failed to bring about a successful revolution was very probably superseded by Taila, who came forward as the leader of the movement. He overcame Kakka II, who was then the Rāshtrakūṭa sovereign, and was universally acclaimed by the people of the Dekkan as their King. The exact date of this important event is fixed by a verse in an inscription which informs us that having plucked up and destroyed the Raṭṭas, having killed the valiant Muñja, having taken the head of Pañchāla in battle and having possessed himself of the royal dignity of the Chalukyas, Taila II reigned for twenty-four years, beginning with the year Śrīmuka. This *Samvatsara* was Ś. 896 current, *i. e.* A. D. 973-74<sup>2</sup>.

In the task of overthrowing the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty it appears that Taila was greatly helped by other royal families that had been dispossessed of their kingdoms and were waiting for an opportunity to get back their lost territories. One of these families was that of the Kadambas who, as we have suggested, probably aided

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<sup>1</sup> Cf ante p 88.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet, *Taila*, I A. XXI, p 167

taking their girls to wife destroyed their caste. This was evidently an invasion of a serious nature led by the Cholas in or about the year 1007-1008. But it is probable that before this there must have been many smaller inroads into the Chalukya kingdom. The brunt of this attack naturally fell on the Kadamba territories, for they formed the southernmost part of the Chalukya Empire. The proper defence of these territories necessitated the appointment of experienced generals to conduct the defence of the frontier districts, and accordingly Bhīmarasa was appointed the governor of the Banavasi, Sāntāḷige and Kisukād districts. That the latter office was created in a military emergency is obvious from the very description of the governor Bhīmarasa, given in the Talagunda record of 997. This inscription particularly emphasises the fact that he "possessed many elephants and forces", and that "he was a cage of adamant to those who claimed his protection" <sup>1</sup>.

This probably is the origin of the office of governors appointed by the Emperors over the provinces ruled by the mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras. The imperial officers before this were probably for the most part customs officials who were entrusted with the collection of the imperial dues like the *Vaḍḍa-rāula*, *perjūnka* and the *bilkōḍe*. The governors who were now appointed served a twofold purpose, namely they saw to the proper defence of the kingdom and closely supervised the actions of the mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras, besides being the heads of the customs department in the provinces allotted to them.

Returning to the proper subject of our narrative it may be observed that the Chōḷas were repulsed for the time being by the Chalukya King Irivabēḍaṅga Satyāśraya <sup>2</sup>; but they renewed their aggressive activities a few years later in the reign of his son Jayasimha II. This we conclude from the Beḷagāmī inscription of 1019 which calls him the conqueror of the Chōḷas <sup>3</sup>.

It is probable that Chatṭa distinguished himself in the war against the Chōḷas, as his father had done before him in the struggle with the Rāshtrakūṭas. In fact one of his inscriptions records the following praises:—

"O Kundiga, when they name thee in respect of courage, what

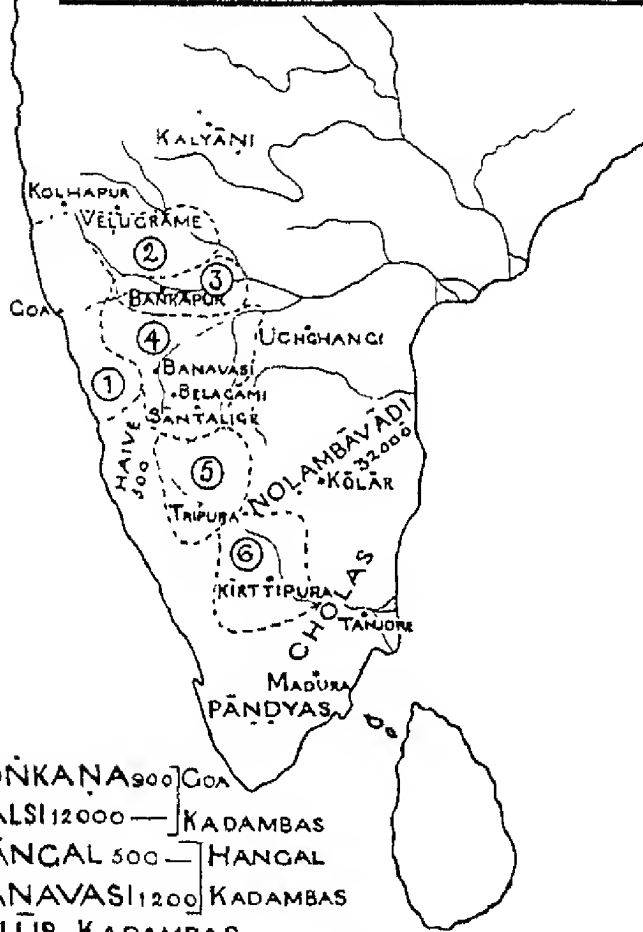
<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 433.

<sup>2</sup> Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 186.

<sup>3</sup> E. I. XVI, p. 75.

<sup>4</sup> Fleet *Sanskrit and Old Ca*                      *Inscriptions I A., V p 17*

# KADAMBA POSSESSIONS — IN THE 11<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY



further praises can others give? Is it not what is said of the troops of elephants of the Chōla, the Gaṅgēya, (*and*) king Bhōja with open mouths as they flee away in the battle where they are pressed by (*thy*) elephants furious with storms of rutting ichor, as they flee away in terror through which they gallop off without waiting at all to charge with their tusks?"<sup>1</sup>

In all likelihood Chattrā conquered the Haive Five Hundred from the Chōlas who had annexed it to their dominions just before 1012 A. D. An inscription dated in that year, speaking about the activities of the famous Chōla general Pañchamahārāya, says: "When the Kō-virāja Rāja-Kēsari-varmma, Rājarāja, marched across, the bee at his lotus feet Pañchamahārāya, having obtained the rank of Mahādaṇḍanāyaka, for Beṅgimaṇḍala and Gaṅgamaṇḍala displayed the might of his arm as follows:—

"He seized Tuḷuva and Koṅkaṇa, pursued after Maleya, pushed aside and passed over Chēra, Teluga, and Raṭṭiga, as if in sport..."<sup>2</sup>

It is also obvious from the epigraphical records that Chattrā was engaged in aggressive campaigns against his neighbours. We learn from an inscription of 1012 A. D. that Chattrā was in that year ruling the Banavasi Twelve Thousand and the Sāntāḷige Thousand<sup>3</sup>. Now the latter province was the hereditary domain of the Sāntāras, and the fact that it is associated with the government of Chattrā suggests the inference that he had imposed his suzerainty over these princes. In fact a viragal of 1015 informs us that this district was held at this time by a Sāntara prince in subordination to Chattrā<sup>4</sup>. But the Sāntaras soon appear to have thrown off the yoke of Kadamba supremacy. For a monumental slab dated in 1016 A. D. mentions Chattrā as governing only the Banavasi Twelve Thousand under the Chalukya Emperor Jayasimha-vallabha. It is possible that in the confusion occasioned by the struggle against the Chōlas, the Sāntaras of Sāntāḷige declared their independence. But soon after the termination of the Chōla war, Chattrā reduced them to submission. Accordingly the Baḷagāmi inscription of Chattrā, above referred to, affirms that he was governing in the year 1019

<sup>1</sup> E. I., XV, p. 333.

<sup>2</sup> E. C., III. Sr. 140.

<sup>3</sup> E. C. VII Sk, 287

<sup>4</sup> *ibid.* Sk 220.

the provinces of Banavas and Santalge es e that of t e Haive Five Hundred

In 1018 A.D. the war with the Mālavas was probably renewed. It may be mentioned here that the enmity between the Chalukyas and the Mālavas, *i. e.* the Paramāras of Dhār was almost hereditary. It has already been noted that Muñja defeated the Rāshtrakūta King Kottiga and sacked Mālkhēd, the Rāshtrakūta capital<sup>1</sup>. Stimulated by this brilliant success he continued to invade the part of the Dekkan which had by now fallen into the hands of the Western Chalukyas. In all probability Taila, who was just then reaping the first fruits of his victory, after having overthrown the Rāshtrakūtas was more than once defeated by Muñja. It is said that he conquered and imprisoned Taila six times, whom each time he released and was finally defeated and taken prisoner by Taila<sup>2</sup>. But this story, with the further embellishment of the love-affair with Taila's sister, has to be discarded by sober historians, as a fanciful creation of a poetic brain. Nevertheless the fact remains that Taila inflicted an irretrievable defeat on the Mālavas.

It evidently took a long time for the Paramāras to heal the wounds inflicted on them by Taila. For in the reigns of the three successors of this King, we do not at all hear of the Mālava depredations. But in about 1018 A.D. the Mālavas renewed their encroachments on the Chalukya territory. In retaliation the Chalukyas under their King Jayasīnha made an advance on Dhār, the capital of the Mālavas, and defeated Bhōja, who was then the Paramāra King. The Belagāmi inscription of Chatṭa-dēva makes a brief mention of this event, when it describes Jayasīnha as "a moon to the lotus which was King Bhōja"<sup>3</sup>. But a detailed information of this campaign of Jayasīnha and the part played by Chatṭa-dēva his feudatory, is given in the Banavasi record of Kīrttivarmma, above referred to. It informs us that the Chalukya army marched northwards as far as the Gautama-Gaṅge, *i. e.* the modern Gōdāvarī, and there it engaged the Mālava King in battle. The record claims for the Kadamba Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Chatṭa-dēva, the honour of dispersing the Mālava troops, as a reward for which he

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Sanscrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., V, p. 47.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. ante p. 89

<sup>3</sup> Tawney *The Prabandī ac naman* p. 33

<sup>4</sup> Fleet *o c* p. 17

was granted the title of "Guardian of the Highland" in the camp of his sovereign Jayasimha<sup>1</sup>. Referring to the brilliant victory won by Chaṭṭa, the Kalēnūr inscription of the latter remarks that the pride of Malepas was destroyed and the noblemen's pride was shaken by him<sup>2</sup>.

The last inscription of Chaṭṭa-dēva is dated in A. D. 1031. He is here represented as governing the Banavasi Twelve Thousand and the Sāntalige Thousand<sup>3</sup>, while he seems to have lost the Haige Five Hundred. We are also told that the Sāntalige district was at this time under the administration of his son Satyāśraya-dēva, who is here styled Kundama's warrior along with other epithets<sup>4</sup>.

The Haige Five Hundred was probably reconquered by the Chōḷas, who subsequently attacked the Sāntalige and the Banavasi provinces. The ruler of Sāntalige, prince Satyāśraya-dēva, was very probably slain by the Chōḷas, who claim to have penetrated as far as Banavasi<sup>5</sup>. The reason for this surmise is that this prince is not heard of any more and Chaṭṭa is soon after succeeded by his son Jayasimha<sup>6</sup>. Furthermore the fact that Satyāśraya was appointed governor of the important province of Sāntalige in the life time of his father shews that he was the eldest son of Chaṭṭa, and as the former did not succeed him in accordance with the common usage, it follows through syllogistic necessity that Satyāśraya died before his father.

Two inscriptions relating to the reign of the same King give us the names of two of his Queens. One of them was Kuṇḍala-dēvi who was the daughter of a certain Bāchayya<sup>7</sup>. The latter very probably belonged to the Śilāhāra family of Northern Koṅkan; for Kuṇḍala-dēvi is described as the crest-jewel of the house of Thāni<sup>8</sup>. The other was Jayabbe, the beautiful, virtuous, full moon faced daughter of Bammarasa and the adopted daughter of Rājamalla<sup>9</sup>. The record does not specify who these persons were, nor is it possible for us to identify them at the present stage of our investigations. It may be ascertained from the same inscription that Jayabbe was

<sup>1</sup> *E. I.*, XVI, p. 359.

<sup>2</sup> *E. I.*, XV, p. 333.

<sup>3</sup> *E. C.*, VII, Sk, 30.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *S. I. I.*, I, pp. 51, 52, 95, 96, 113.

<sup>6</sup> *E. I.*, XVI, p. 359.

<sup>7</sup> *E. I.* XV p 333

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>9</sup> Append x No III 7

ruling at Ajjadi with the help of Sahadeva, who is described in the record as the chief of Ajjadi. The record also informs us that he was the son of the brave Sūdraka who "was the pith of the desire yielding tree, the support of poets, versifiers, disputants and eloquent speakers". Speaking of Sahadēva's warlike qualities the inscription avers that he conquered the country by "the valour of his arm when the kings of Mālava being panic-stricken gave it over". We may infer from this that Sahadēva was a general of Chaṭṭa and followed the latter in the war against the Mālavas. Having there distinguished himself by his deeds of valour, he was rewarded with Ajjadi in Dhārwar by his master Chaṭṭa. The inscription however states that he soon made over the government of the district, to his brother Rāchamalla and accepted the life of a *setti* at Banavasi <sup>1</sup>.

These records of Chaṭṭa allude to three of his sons. We have already spoken of Satyāśraya, his eldest son, and Jayasinha who was probably the second. The third was Khētamalla who is described in one of the grants as his father's agent for works of merit <sup>2</sup>. We learn from the Haḷḷihāl inscription of the time of this King that he had under him Sahadēva, who was the chief of Ajjadi <sup>3</sup>.

Chaṭṭayya-dēva was a man of remarkable ability. It is undoubtedly due to his daring and courage, no less than to his statesmanship, that the newly revived Kadamba power took deep roots in the Kārnāṭaka soil. He is described in the Beḷagāmi inscription as "the very lion towards the troops of elephants which were his foes" <sup>4</sup>. Again the same record speaks of him as a handmill to his enemies and likens him to Rāma in battle, whose resolution was never to be shaken <sup>5</sup>. He was also a patron of learning and a promoter of piety. According to one of his records he established an *agrahāra* (seat of learning) at Sāliyūr for the benefit of his subjects <sup>6</sup>. Other inscriptions represent him as building new temples or repairing old ones. The same Beḷagāmi inscription records a grant he made to the god Nandikeśvara-dēva of the original local

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 285.

<sup>3</sup> Appendix, No. III, 7.

<sup>4</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I A., V, p. 18.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid

<sup>6</sup> E. C. VII Sk, 285



shrine "for the purpose of repairing whatever might become broken or torn or worn out through age". The inscription also contains a grant to the god Chaturmukhadēva <sup>1</sup>. Chaṭṭa seems to have gone even to the extent of making the necessary provisions to meet the expenses for the ordinary celebrations at the famous shrines in the country. Thus for instance, the Kūḍagere inscription tells us that for the daily offerings at the temple of the gods Pingalēśvara and Sayamba of the Mindalli *mūlasthāna* at the Koḍalatīrtha, he made a grant of land in the Sattigāla plain, below the bank of the Gāṅgere <sup>2</sup>. We are informed in the Haḷḷihāl inscription that the glorious Jayabbarasi gave, at the request of Rājamalla, a black soil measuring 6 *mattars* of royal measure, red soil 300 *mattars*, one paddy land of 50 *mattars* and one garden for voluntary service <sup>3</sup>. His noble example was naturally imitated by his subjects and a spirit of social service was thus engendered in the people. This spirit is given expression to in one of these records of Chaṭṭa, which says that a private citizen named Toḍaka Kēśavayya and his wife Mārabbe, being disposed to perform a work of merit, purchased land and granted it to the god Chandēśvara <sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Sanscrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., V, p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 30.

<sup>3</sup> Appendix, No. III, 7.

<sup>4</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 287.

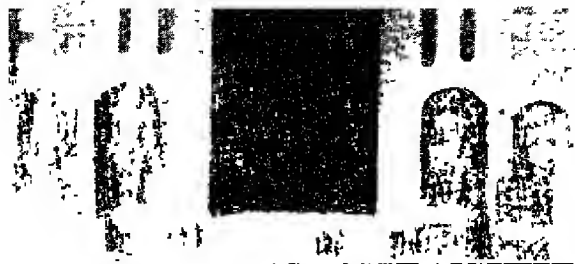
## Mayuravarmma II

Jayasimha had five sons, Māuli, Taila or Tailapa, Śāntivarmma Chōki-dēva or Jōki-dēva and Vikrama<sup>1</sup>. The first two, Māuli and Tailapa—whom we respectively identify with Mayūravarmma<sup>2</sup> and Tōyinarasa or Tōyima-dēva<sup>3</sup> of the epigraphical records of this period,—and Śāntivarmma ruled as kings in succession on the death of Jayasimha<sup>4</sup>.

There is an interesting record of the year 1037 which mentions the royal preceptor Rājaguru-dēva, whom it styles the restorer of the Kadamba family<sup>5</sup>. The meaning of this epithet seems to be that when Jayasimha died, his children, including his eldest son Mayūravarmma II, were young, and consequently this Rājagurudēva was of great help to Akkā-dēvi who, it may be inferred from the Hotṭū inscriptions, was acting as regent at this period<sup>6</sup>. It is also clear

<sup>1</sup> *E. I.*, XVI, p. 359; Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A, X, p. 353.      <sup>2</sup> *E. I.*, XVI, p. 80.      <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 86.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 359. We identify Mayuravarmma and Toyima-deva with Mauli and Tailapa respectively, for the reason that not only their names seem to have a close similarity to each other, but that they do not occur in any inscription other than the Karagudari grant of Tailapa II, and the Banavasi record of Kirttivarman, where they are very briefly mentioned. It is evident from the records that they did rule as kings. Furthermore we have the grant of Mayuravarmma and Toyima-deva, whom if we do not identify with Mauli and Taila, will not find a place in the genealogy of the Hangal Kadambas, as given in the above-mentioned records of Tailapa II and Kirttivarman. Lastly the records bearing the name of Mayuravarmma and Toyima-deva clearly state that they were Kadambas of the Hangal branch and that they ruled after 1034 which exactly corresponds with the initial year of Mauli.      <sup>5</sup> Appendix No. 18.      <sup>6</sup> *E. I.* XVI pp 79 and 80.



1. Hale Banavasi. Siva Temple.



2. Talagunda. Prānavēśvara Temple.



3. Banavasi. Fort Walls.



from these records that they lost at this time the district of Harge Five Hundred, which had been conquered and annexed by Chatta. The Ālupas very probably added this district to their kingdom when the attention of the Kadambas was distracted by the Chōla invasion. But this loss they soon compensated by the acquisition of a new district in the north, namely, that of the Hāngal Five Hundred<sup>1</sup>, after which this branch of the Kadamba-Kula is known in history.

Mayūravarman seems to have ruled a few years more. An inscription of A.D. 1037 shows him as governing the Banavasi Twelve Thousand and the Hāngal Five Hundred with Akkā-dēvi at the head of the former province<sup>2</sup>. He was probably the elder son of this Queen, who helped him in the government of the Banavasi Twelve Thousand with his brother Tōyima-dēva<sup>3</sup>.

The last inscription of this ruler is dated Ś. 966 or A. D. 1044-45, where he is described as still ruling the Pānuṅgal (Hāngal) district as a feudatory of the Chalukya King Somēśvara I<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> E. I., XVI, p. 80; Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 563. Hangal, says the Gazetteer of Dharwar, is locally believed to be the place where the Pandavas lived during part of their exile from Delhi. The name Viratakote and Viratanagari, the fort and city of Virata, which occur in the inscriptions support the tradition. For according to the *Mahabharata*, Virata was the King at whose court the Pandavas spent the thirteenth year of their exile. *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, XII, *Dharwar*, p. 389.

<sup>2</sup> E. I., XVI, p. 79.

<sup>3</sup> Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 431. Dr. Fleet does not refer to the inscription from which he derives this information.

<sup>4</sup> Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 563. This inscription is at Adur in Hangal taluqa.

## CHAPTER V

### Taila I or Toyīna-deva

**M**ayūravarman probably died without an heir, for after his death his brother, Taila became the sole possessor of the Kadamba dominions. He was very likely helped by his mother Akkā-dēvi in the administration of his kingdom. There are a few inscriptions of this Queen issued in the reign of her son. We learn from one of them, dated in 1050 A. D., that the period of Tailapa's rule was a trying time for the Kadambas of Hāṅgaḷ, as the Chōḷas made incessant incursions into their dominions. This inscription records the renewal of the statutory constitution of the town of Sūṇḍi by Akkā-dēvi, as it had broken down on account of the invasion of the Chōḷas. This epigraph asserts that Akkā-dēvi was governing the Kīṣukāḍi Seventy, Torugate Sixty and the Māsavāḍi Hundred and Forty <sup>1</sup>. It is also interesting to note that Akkā-dēvi had under her five ministers of state, namely Kālidāsayya, the steward of the household, the councillor Miḷḷayya, the councillor Chittimayya, the minister of state Demmaṇṇa, Chāvunḍa-rāya, the steward of the betel-bag, besides Dāsimayya, the Secretary of the council, the Commissioner of the country and other executive officials <sup>2</sup>. In another record, dated two years later, we find this Queen granting a statutory constitution for the temple of the god Akkēśvara of Sūṇḍi—evidently a sanctuary of Śiva founded or re-established by Akkā-dēvi—regulating the disposal of the lands of the establishment so as to perform the due ceremonies of the rituals <sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *E.I.*, XV, p. 80.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 81

It appears from the lithic records that Akkā-dēvi was a Queen of warlike nature. An inscription at Arsībīḍi represents her as laying siege to the fort of Gōkāge or Gōkāk, in the Belgaum District. It is likely that she undertook this expedition for quelling some local rebellion <sup>1</sup>.

King Tōyima-dēva ruled for a fairly long period. The last inscription of this King is dated in A. D. 1066. It describes him as a "man of might to adversaries, sun to the Highland, ever active in truth, Āñjanēya in purity, Brahman in assemblies, Shaṃmukha in the front of battles, thousand armed (Kārtavīrya) with balls, Rāhu in the fray, Paraśu-Rāma to the resorts of foes, . . . baṃgāra of title-bearers, warrior to Mēruḡa, exalted in high spirit, (and the) lion to Hariga"<sup>2</sup>. It may be inferred from the last epithet of Tōyima-dēva that he rendered distinguished services to his kinsman the Kadamba Hariga or Harikēsari of Baṅkāpūr, who was then the governor of the Banavasi and the Hāṅgal provinces under the Chalukya King Vikramāditya <sup>3</sup>.

Even at this late date we find queen Akkā-dēvi being referred to in the Kadamba records. The above-mentioned Hoṭṭūr inscription of Tōyima-dēva records, as a supplement to the endowment of the latter to the Śaiva monastery, a remission of fees due to her from the same institution <sup>4</sup>.

One of the Queens of Tōyima-dēva was Mailala-dēvi who granted in conjunction with her husband a religious foundation to (the temple of) the god Kēśavēśvara, at Hoṭṭūr <sup>5</sup>.

It was probably on the demise of his mother Akkā-dēvi, that Tōyima-dēva appointed his son Kīrttivarmma to the government of Banavasi. There is an inscription of the latter dated 1068 A. D., which was evidently issued in the initial year of his rule as governor of Banavasi. This inscription while giving all the titles of the family to Kīrttivarmma, calls him the lion for Taila, which clearly implies that he was governing the province under his father Tōyima-dēva or Tailapa <sup>6</sup>. Kīrttivarmma ruled in this capacity till 1075 A. D., when on the death of his father he declared himself independent of the Hāṅgal government <sup>7</sup>.

## Santivarmma II

On the death of king Tōṛiṃa-dēva, his brother Sāntivarmma ascended the throne of Hāṅgai. This event probably took place in 1075 A. D. for the first inscription of this son's reign is dated to that year<sup>1</sup>.

It would appear from the records that Sāntivarmma's accession to the throne was not entirely undisputed. We saw above that Tōṛiṃa-dēva's son Kīrtivarmma was governing the Banavasi Twelve Thousand in the life time of his father. Now this Kīrtivarmma put forward his claim to the throne of Hāṅgai contending that as he was the crown prince, the kingdom belonged to him by right. Sāntivarmma probably based his claim on grounds of seniority. Consequently it is very likely that the Kadamba kingdom was torn between the two rival factions. In fact there is sufficient epigraphical evidence to show that they had already appealed to arms. A *viragala* dated in 1075, and found in the Banavasi Twelve Thousand province, informs us that Kadamba Sāntayya-dēva sent 'the whole army under twelve *nāyakas*', obviously for the purpose of ravaging the province, and that it attacked the Kuṭṭapūr *agrahāra* in the course of its depredations<sup>2</sup>. Thus when the things were going from bad to worse, King Jayakēśi I, of the Goa Kadamba dynasty, seems to have intervened and brought about an amicable settlement between the rivals. This is very probably the meaning intended by the composer of the inscription of Śivachitta, one of the successors of Jayakēśi,

<sup>1</sup> *E. I.* XVI p. 73.

<sup>2</sup> *E. C.* VIII Sb 314.



when he recorded that Jayakēśi 'assembled the Kadambas' <sup>1</sup>. The accomodation arrived at appears to be that the Banavasi Twelve Thousand should remain in the hands of Kīrttivarṃma, while Śāntivarṃma was to succeed to the government of the Hāṅgal province. This is obvious from the fact that unlike the inscriptions of Taila I and Mayūravarṃma II, the records of Kīrttivarṃma do not attribute to him the sovereignty over these two provinces, but limit his rule to the Banavasi Twelve Thousand only <sup>2</sup>. In the same manner the Nīralgi inscription of Śāntivarṃma, which is beyond doubt his earliest record, does not state the details of his government <sup>3</sup>; from which Dr. Fleet rightly infers that Śāntivarṃma and Kīrttivarṃma "were then ruling, respectively, only the Pānuṅgal Five Hundred and the Banavāsī Twelve Thousand" <sup>4</sup>.

The Nīralgi inscription of Śāntivarṃma, above referred to, gives him hyperbolic epithets. He is described here as a king of irresistible might to whom "puissant hostile monarchs came bowing in refuge". It calls him "the death-spirit of cosmic dissolution to warriors of puissant enemy princes, ornament to princes, Bhairava to princes, Triṇētra (Śiva) to princes, grindstone to princes" <sup>5</sup>. But as no specific victories are mentioned in the records we are inclined to believe that these were all empty boasts of the poets who composed the inscription.

The other record of Śāntivarṃma is an epigraph from Araḷēśvar in the Hāṅgal taluqa dated in A. D. 1089, which avers that he was then ruling the Banavāsī Twelve Thousand and the Hāṅgal Five Hundred, as a feudatory of the Chalukya emperor Vikramāditya VI <sup>6</sup>. But the fact that the Banavāsī province was at this time ruled by the strong King Kīrttivarṃma plainly shows that this was a mere title.

The Kargudari record gives us the piece of information that one of Śāntivarṃma's Queens was Śrīśūcēvi, a Pāṇḍya princess, to whom was born the great king Taila II <sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Inscriptions Relative to the Kadambas of Goa*, J.B.E.R.A.S., IX, p. 282.

<sup>2</sup> E.C., VIII, St. 262, 317, 337, 421, 442, 438, 449, 470; E.I., XVI, pp. 355, 363.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., pp. 72-73.

<sup>4</sup> Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 561.

<sup>5</sup> E. I. XVI p. 72.

<sup>6</sup> Fleet l. c.

<sup>7</sup> Fleet *Sa inscrip and Old Canarese Inscriptions* I.A. X p. 254.

## CHAPTER VI

### Kirttivarmma

No sooner did Kirttivarmma find himself secure on the throne at Vaijyanti than he devoted himself to the strengthening of his position. When this was accomplished he seems to have started his aggressive campaigns. The latter fact we conclude from his inscriptions which describe him as a great warrior. An undated record of his, issued in the reign of the Chalukya Emperor Vikramāditya, calls him a "gallant against adversaries", and "unique warrior of the world"<sup>1</sup>. Further an inscription in the Sorab taluqua says that he was the "shatterer of foeman's arrogance"<sup>2</sup>.

The first step of Kirttivarmma in this direction was to free himself of the Chalukya control and to set himself up as an independent ruler. This he probably did during the civil war between Sōmēśvara II and his brother Vikramāditya<sup>3</sup>. The chaotic situation that arose from this fratricidal warfare, no doubt, helped him considerably in realising his purpose.

Next he encroached on the dominions of the Goa Kadamba King Jayakēśi I. We are told in one of his records that "he subdued the seven Koṅkaṇas"<sup>4</sup>. This sentence, though it is not to be taken literally, nevertheless shows that Kirttivarmma was at this time engaged in aggressive activities, and that during one of his predatory excursions he raided the Koṅkaṇ. This is confirmed by one of the grants of a successor of Jayakēśi I, which shows that Kirttivarmma did really come into conflict with Jayakēśi. The inscription

<sup>1</sup> E. I., XVI, p. 360.

<sup>2</sup> E. C., VIII. Sb. 262.

<sup>3</sup> Cf Buhler *Vikramānandadevacharita* Introd pp. 34-37

<sup>4</sup> E. C. VII Sb. 262.

records that "having made Kīrtirāja of Banavase obedient to his will, the Lord of the Ocean himself (Jayakēśi)....[transferred] duly his glory to Permādi"<sup>1</sup>. It follows from this that Kīrttivarmma's campaign against Jayakēśi of Goa was not only futile, but also ended in his own submission to the Chalukya Emperor. For it is obvious from the record that Jayakēśi as a loyal feudatory of the Chalukyas and father-in-law of the reigning Emperor, forced Kīrttivarmma to acknowledge the latter as his liege-lord. Thus the attempts of Kīrttivarmma to extend the boundaries of his kingdom and to establish his independence were for ever frustrated by his kinsman, the Kadamba King of Goa.

Notwithstanding this failure, it must be admitted that Kīrttivarmma was one of the most progressive rulers of his time. One of the early grants of his gives us the interesting piece of news that he was a *sarvajña*<sup>2</sup>. This would suggest that he combined a deep knowledge of military tactics with profound erudition. This is fully borne out by a later record of his which shows that he was personally interested in dialectics, and often took part in the discussions on such subtle questions as the rewards of *dharma* and the like<sup>3</sup>. It is therefore not unreasonable to conclude that he was a great patron of scholars and promoter of learning in his kingdom. In one of these records it is clearly stated that he founded *agrahāras* (seats of learning) and endowed them with rich grants of land<sup>4</sup>. In these *agrahāras* there lived Brahman and Jaina scholars, without exhibiting the least animosity that might otherwise be expected to arise from their religious differences<sup>5</sup>. One of such *agrahāras* was the famous *agrahāra* of Kuppattūr, and the tolerant spirit prevailing there is expressed in the Kuppattūr grant of Kīrttivarmma. "By that consecrating priest Padmanandi-siddhānti-dēva<sup>6</sup>, the crowned queen Mālala-Dēvi having had the Kuppattūr Parsva-Dēva-chaityālaya well consecrated,—she worshipped in the prescribed manner all the Brahmans...of the immemorial *agrahāra* Kuppattūr, and having the name of Brahma-Jinālayam given to it by them, along with the priests of Koṭṭisvara-mūlsthāna and all the

<sup>1</sup> E. I., XIII, p. 310.

<sup>2</sup> E. I., XVI, p. 355.

<sup>3</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 442.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., Sb, 262.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid

<sup>6</sup> He was a Jaina guru

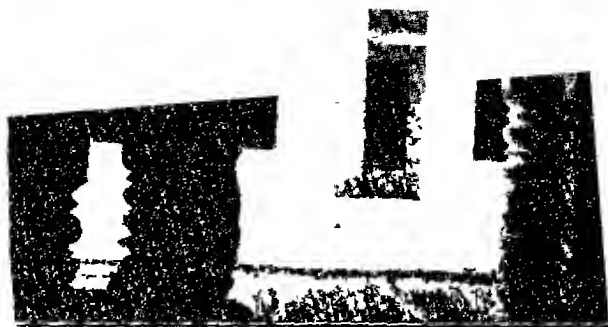
eight temples for the placing of the priest of Baravis. Mallakēśvara to come, performing worship in the same cause, the *jogavartige* to be placed, and giving to three Brahmins 500 *bonnu* and obtained from them the lands specified. — These and Siddhapi-  
valji obtained from Kuttī-Dēva. She gave for her daily worship and the food of the rishis, washing the feet of *śādrāṇāḍi* *śiddhānti-chakravartī* <sup>1</sup>.

Kuttivaramma's reign extended over a period of half a century. His earliest grants are dated in A. D. 1098<sup>2</sup>, in which year he very probably inaugurated his rule, and the latest seems to be 1116<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *E. C.*, VIII, 86, 262.

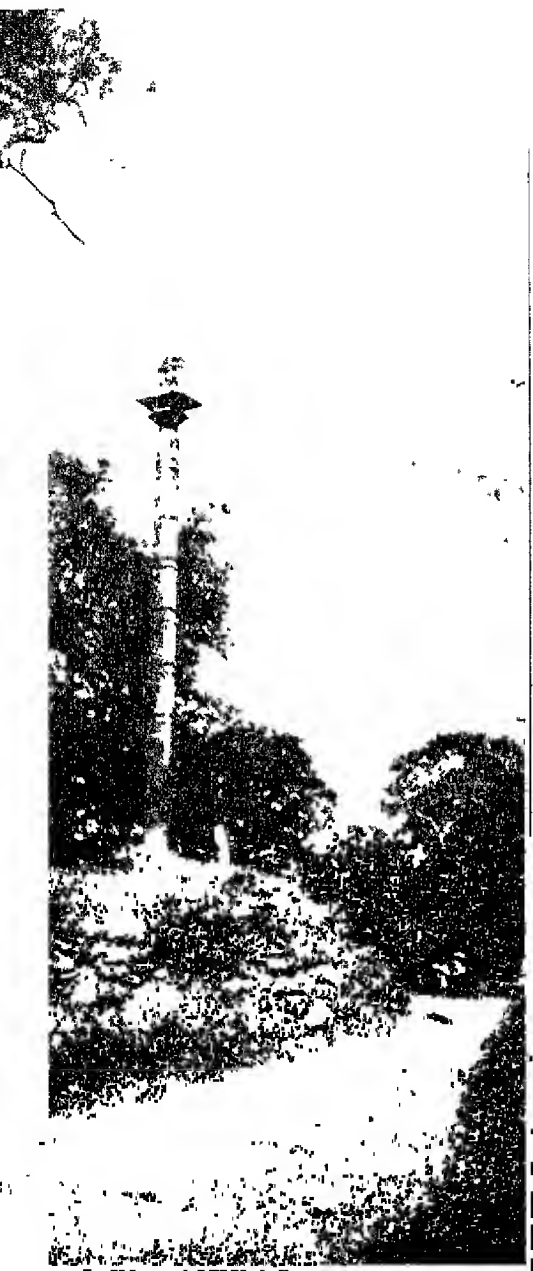
<sup>2</sup> *E. I.*, XVI, p. 325; *Rec. de l'Inde descriptives*, p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> *E. C.*, VII, 86, 26.



5 Banavasi. Entrance to the Old Temple





Belagāmi. Gandabherunda Pillar

## CHAPTER VIII

### The History of the Governors of Banavasi

**D**uring this eventful period various governors were appointed from time to time by the Chalukya Emperors to administer the imperial affairs of the Banavasi Twelve Thousand. We have already noticed that the first of these officials was Bhīmarasa who was made governor towards the end of the reign of the Chalukya Tailapa<sup>1</sup>. The earliest inscription which mentions the name of this governor is dated A.D. 997. It says that he was administering the Banavasi Twelve Thousand, the Sāntalige Thousand and the Kisukād Seventy, and had under him *perggaḍe* Kālimayya, who was in charge of the customs duties of the *manneya* of the Nariyalige Forty<sup>2</sup>. We know from a viragal dated 999 and found at Hiri-Chavati, that Bhīmarasa was governing the same province of Banavasi in that year with his subordinate officials<sup>3</sup>. There are two more inscriptions of this governor dated respectively A.D. 1004<sup>4</sup> and 1006<sup>5</sup> in the reign of the Chalukya Emperor Iṣivabēḍaṅga-dēva Satyāśraya, which mention him as still governing the Banavasi, the Sāntalige and the Kisukād districts.

The Banavasi province next passed into the hands of one Sēnavarisa. An undated record which is placed on palaeographical grounds in A. D. 1010 is the only source of information regarding this official. It says that "when Vikramāditya Satyāśraya, favourite of earth and fortune, mahārājādhirāja paramēśvara bhātāra was ruling the kingdom of the world, Sēnavarisa was ruling the Banavāsi Twelve Thousand"<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 179.

<sup>2</sup> E. C. VIII, Sb 234

<sup>3</sup> Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties* p 433.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> E. C., VIII Sb 386.

<sup>6</sup> E. C. VIII Sb, 381

He probably ruled for a period of ten or fifteen years when he was succeeded by other governors. But the names of these imperial officers are unfortunately not mentioned in the epigraphical records.

In A. D. 1045 a certain mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Singaṇadēvarasa was appointed the governor of Banavasi, Sāntalige and Kiskāḍ provinces up to the borders of the western ocean<sup>1</sup>. But soon this governor was relieved of the Banavasi Twelve Thousand and a new one, mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Chāmuṇḍa Rāyasa, was appointed to the governorship of this province. The earliest reference we have of him is in a grant found in the Shikarpur Taluqa, which is dated A. D. 1046. He very soon succeeded to the province of Sāntalige as well; for in an inscription at Belagāmi, issued in the following year, he is said to be governing Sāntalige, besides the old provinces of Banavasi Twelve Thousand and Haige Five Hundred. The record describes him as the "boon lord of Banavālipura . . . entitled to the five drums, a brave at the court of three kings, Śankara to the bull-dilled chiefs, terrifier of hostile kings, a hand on the face of braves, a sun on the titled, a manifest Vikramāditya, making sport of Koṅkaṇa, Āhavamalla-Dēva's Hanuman, a wild fire to the Kaṇagile-vāḍa (and) thurster aside of Kannamama"<sup>2</sup>.

The above extract gives a brief review of the warlike expeditions of Chāmuṇḍa Rāya. It tells us that he made sport of Koṅkaṇa, which of course must not be understood to mean that he subdued the Koṅkaṇ, but that he led plundering excursions into some parts of that country. Indeed there are no indications at all in the contemporary inscriptions of his having subdued the Koṅkaṇ. It may be allowed however that he recovered the province of Haige Five Hundred, which was one of the provinces ruled over by Chaṭṭaya-dēva and which the Kadambas had lost after the latter's death<sup>3</sup>. But these plundering excursions were never directed into that part of the country which was under the sway of Shashtha-dēva. For we know from the Goa Kadamba records that the latter was one of the most powerful mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras of his day<sup>4</sup>.

It can also be inferred from this extract that Chāmuṇḍa Rāya led incursions into Kaṇagile-vāḍa. This was possibly a district on

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 439.

<sup>2</sup> *E. C.* VII St. 151

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ante, p. 99

<sup>4</sup> *E. I.* XIII p. 309-310



the borders of the Chalukya Empire which Chāmuṇḍa Rāya tried to bring within the pale of their dominions.

The same inscription implies that Chāmuṇḍa Rāya defeated one Kannamma, since it styles him "the thruster aside of Kannamma". But there is nothing in the inscription to enable one to ascertain who this Kannamma was and to what dynasty he belonged. However a study of the history of the ruling families of the day would suggest that Kannamma was probably the Kaḷachūrya King of this name. An inscription of this family found in the Dāvaṇagere Taluqua<sup>1</sup> informs us that one Kannamma was the ancestor of Bijjala who is known from epigraphical records to have lived in the latter half of the twelfth century<sup>2</sup>. Now giving a period of twenty five years to each of the four kings who are said to have preceded Bijjala, we find that Kannamma was the contemporary of Chāmuṇḍa Rāya.

We are also told in the above inscription that the Gurjjara, the Chēra and the Chōḷa kings were moved at his grandeur<sup>3</sup>. This piece of encomium was probably intended to show that he was respected by these rulers on account of his heroism, notwithstanding the fact that he was a mere official with the title of mahāmaṇḍalēśvara.

This inscription, which is engraved on a *gaṇḍabhēruṇḍa* pillar, states that this monument was set up by Chāmuṇḍa Rāya in the town of Beḷagāmi<sup>4</sup>. This monument is an elegant monolith, surmounted by the image of Bhēruṇḍēśvara in human form with double eagle's head<sup>5</sup>. In two other inscriptions found at the same village *gaṇḍabhēruṇḍa* is given as one of his *birudas*, and a *bhēruṇḍa* pole—perhaps the length of the pillar—appears to have been used as a measure for land<sup>6</sup>. One of these records contains a grant of five *mattas* of rice land, according to the *bhēruṇḍa* pole to provide for the worship at the *basadi* of the Baḷagāra-gaṇa connected with Jajāhuti-Śāntinātha. This inscription is dated A. D. 1048<sup>7</sup>. The other which is also dated in the same year mentions a grant to the same *basadi* of Balarar, consisting of five *mattas* of rice land

<sup>1</sup> E. C., XI, Dg, 42.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet, P. S. and O. C. *Inscriptions*, No. 119; Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 60.

<sup>3</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 151.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 75. Cf. Cousens, *The Chalukyan Architecture* p 108

<sup>6</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions* I A. IV p 180 E C VII Sk 120

<sup>7</sup> Ibid

by the measure of the staff Bhēṇḍa a e in the ric land called Pulēya bayal of the capit l of Belagāmi. It would app ar from th inscription that this Jain congregation of Baḷagāra was held in high veneration for its austerity. It was in admiration of them that Kēśavanandi, who was himself an ascetic and desciple of Mēśhanandibhaṭṭāraka of the same gaṇa, made this grant<sup>1</sup>.

Chāmuṇḍa Rāya again appears in A. D. 1063. The inscription says that he was acting as king in that year, when he made a grant of "the *vaḍḍa-rāvuḷa* and *perjunka* (or principal customs dues) to the god... of the...agrahāra"<sup>2</sup>.

In the two inscriptions from Belagāmi, spoken of above, Chāmuṇḍa Rāya is said to be a *mūṇurāyasthūna* (ಮುಜುರಾಯಸ್ಥಾನ). This title has been variously interpreted by the epigraphists. When in 1875 Dr. Fleet published the inscription he found at Belagāmi in *The Indian Antiquary*, he translated this expression as 'he who has three royal halls of audience'<sup>3</sup>. But he soon found out his mistake and in another article which he contributed in the following year to *The Journal of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society* he took this expression to mean *mūṇurāyasthūpunāchūrya* (ಮುಜುರಾಯಸ್ಥಾನಾಚಾರ್ಯ), or the establisher of Mūṇu kings<sup>4</sup>. Mr. Rice on the other hand has rendered the same expression as 'a brave at the court of three kings'<sup>5</sup>. This seems to be more accurate not merely because the Mūṇu country is far removed from the Banavasi province, but because this rendering is simple and direct.

Who were these three kings whose court was thus adorned by Chāmuṇḍa Rāya? We suppose that they were the three Chalukya Emperors, namely Vikramāditya V, Jayasīṃha III and Somēśvara I. According to this theory therefore, Chāmuṇḍa Rāya entered the services of the Chalukyastowards the end of Vikramāditya V's reign and remained in office sometime after 1063. In fact one of his inscriptions tells us that he was acting at this time as king over the whole of the Banavasi Twelve Thousand, having for his minister Sōmanāthaiya, and that he made a grant of the *vaḍḍa-rāvuḷa*

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscription*, I A., IV, p. 181.

<sup>2</sup> E.C., VII, Sk, 11.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Sk, 120; Fleet, o.c., p. 179.

<sup>4</sup> Fleet, l. c.

<sup>5</sup> Fleet. *Copper Plate Grants of the Kings of Vijayanagara* J.B.B.R.A.S. XII p 376

<sup>6</sup> E. C., VII Sk 120

and the *perjjunka* to the god of the *agrahāra*<sup>1</sup>. He seems to have retired for good from service somewhere before A. D. 1066, for after this date he is heard of no more.

It appears from one of these inscriptions from Beḷagāmi that this city was the capital of the Banavasi Twelve Thousand when Chāmuṇḍa Rāya was the governor of this province<sup>2</sup>; and as will presently be seen, it continued to enjoy this unique privilege when other governors succeeded him in the interval.

We must not suppose however that Chāmuṇḍa Rāya was the governor of Banavasi all the while. The work of efficient administration and defence required his presence in other parts of the Empire and accordingly the Banavasi-nāḍ was placed under new governors. In the year 1053 when perhaps there was comparative peace in the kingdom, Maḷḷala-dēvi, one of the wives of Sōmēśvara was appointed to the governorship of the Banavasi Twelve Thousand<sup>3</sup>. This was the year when the Chalukyas had won the eventful battle of Koppam, whose exact date is given as May 23rd, 1053<sup>4</sup>. Though Rājendra, the brother of the Chōḷa King slain on this occasion, subsequently retrieved the losses by bringing in reinforcement, his attention was soon diverted by fresh troubles at home consequent on the rival candidates contesting the succession with him<sup>5</sup>.

But it is clear from another inscription dated 1055-56 that this important province was soon entrusted together with the Ganga-vāḍi Ninety-six Thousand to Vikramāditya, the son of Sōmēśvara I<sup>6</sup>. The same inscription informs us that the actual governor of Banavasi at this period was King Harikēsari, of the Kadamba family.

This change was doubtless effected because of the renewed warfare by the Chōḷas under their new King Rājendra Chōḷa, who, having suppressed his political opponents at home, had now launched on the aggressive policy of his predecessors<sup>7</sup>. Vikra-

<sup>1</sup> E. C. VII, Sk, 11.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 504. (Ink impression by Dr. Fleet)

<sup>3</sup> *Carn. Desa Inscriptions*, I, p. 122, referred to by Fleet, *o. c.*, p. 440. The ink impression of the record, says Dr. Fleet, does not include the date.

<sup>4</sup> *S. I. I.*, I, pp. 52, 134; *Ibid.*, II, pp. 232, 307.

<sup>5</sup> Cf S Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Ancient India* p 112.

<sup>6</sup> Fleet, *S. I. I. and Old Canarese Inscriptions I A.*, IV p 203.

<sup>7</sup> Cf Sub *ya Ayer Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekhan*, p 151

māditya remained as Viceroy in the south till A. D. 1060<sup>1</sup> and it may be presumed that the Banavasi and the Nelambavadi provinces, continued to be administered during this period by his subordinate Harikēśari.

There is a viragal of the time of Vikramāditya which gives him Ganga titles and calls him Chalukya-Ganga-l'emmāṇaḍi-Vikramāditya-dēva. It records that his great minister was a certain Perggaḍe Nāranayya, chief of the *Karaṇas*, who was enjoying the Banavasi Twelve Thousand. The same viragal informs us that in A. D. 1058 when Vikramāditya was the governor of the provinces named above, a force of Bēḍas penetrated into Muḍyangeṇi, seized the cows and dishonoured the women. The ūr-gāvunḍa Māchayya fought against these barbarians and having killed many of them, recovered the cows at Belagavatti, but was at length overpowered by the superior numbers of the enemy<sup>2</sup>.

A grant issued in A.D. 1068 represents Lakshmaṇṛipa, who was "the chief master of robes" at the court of Sōmēśvara I, as ruling the Banavasi country<sup>3</sup>. He was probably the immediate successor of Vikramāditya, and acted as governor from 1066-1068 A. D.

The grant of Lakshmaṇa above referred to was issued in the reign of King Bhuvanaikamalla, i. e. the Chalukya King Sōmēśvara II. It begins with the eulogy of his father's rule, who left no evil persons or enemies in Kuntala. It is said that the kings of Laṭa, Kaṭiṅga, Gaṅga, Karahāṭa, Turushka, Varāḷa, Chōḷa, Kaṇāṭaka, Saurāshṭra, Mālava, Daśarṇṇa, Kōśala, Kēraḷa and other countries gave tribute to him and were confined to their own boundaries. He boasts of having slain Magadha, Āndhra, Avanti, Vaṅga, Draviḷa, Kuru, Khasa, Abhira, Pañchāḷa, Lāḷa and other kings and made their forces serve him. In spite of all these wars the strength of his arm and the energy of his soul were not exhausted, and he is said to have set out alone (for *svarga*) as if to fight against Indra, defeat him and make him give tribute. Accordingly on the 8th day of *Chaitra bahuḷā*, the year Kīlaka, Ś. 990 (29th March, 1068), performing the supreme *yōga*, he breathed his last in the Tuṅga-bhadrā. The reason for performing this rite, which is commonly known as *Jalasamadhi*<sup>4</sup> is given by Bhīmaṇa in his *Vikramanka*

*dēvacharita*. According to him King Somēśvara I was seized with a severe fever, and feeling that his end was approaching, had himself conveyed to the banks of the Tuṅgabhadra. While bathing in the river after having given away much gold in charity, he waded in until the water reached his neck and amidst the din of the waves and the sound of all kinds of musical instruments deliberately drowned himself <sup>1</sup>.

The inscription goes on to say that on the 7th day of *Vaiśākha* *suddha*, the year Kilaka, Ś. 990 (11th April, 1068), i. e. fourteen days after this tragic event, his eldest son Sōmēśvara II assumed the sovereignty with all the royal insignia, and "the whole desire of the world was drawn to him". The Chōla King thought of taking advantage of the youth and inexperience of the new ruler, and is said to have exclaimed: "A new reign (a kingdom) fit only for a hero; now is the time to invade it. I will surround Guttī and besiege it". This he did with a considerable army. Sōmēśvara at once mustered a strong force to oppose him, and on the advanced cavalry coming into contact a fierce battle ensued, in which the Chōla army was routed and dispersed. Consequently all the foreign kings are said to have been stricken with terror, and gladly became Sōmēśvara's vassals. After this victory Lakshma, who is represented as indispensable to the Chālukya kingdom as the governor of Banavasi, was given a royal *śāsana* which conferred extraordinary honours upon him. "Junior is King Vikrama-Gaṅga to me; to that Permmāḍi-Dēva; the next junior is Vīra Noḷamba-Dēva; to me, to Permmāḍi, and to Singi you are the junior, but to you all (the rest) are juniors", said Sōmēśvara, thus ranking him next to the royal family. Lakshmaṇa became the lord of the great Banavasi-nāḍ, Vikrama-Noḷamba was rewarded with the fief of Noḷamba-Sindavādi, and Gaṅga-maṇḍalika became the governor of the territory beginning from Aḷam-pura. Bhuvanaikamalla gave them these countries, in view of their being as a long bar or defence to the south <sup>2</sup>.

Lakshmaṇa is said to have trodden down Koṅkaṇa, driven back the seven Kombu, and uprooted the seven Male. He is styled Rāya-daṇḍa Gōpāla, and united in himself the chief heroic characters of both the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Bhārata* <sup>3</sup>.

His minister and chief treasurer was Śāntinātha, a distinguished Jaina poet. He had the title of *Sarasvatī-mukha-mukura*, and he

<sup>1</sup> Bühler, *Vikramānandadevacharita*, pp. 32-34, vv. 44-68.

<sup>2</sup> *E C* VII, Sk. 136

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*

was the author of the *Sukumāracharita*. He persuaded Lakshmaṇa to build the wooden *basadi* of *Malikāmōda Santuṭṭha* in Baṭagrama (Beḷagami), and he set up a stone pillar at the main entrance, recounting all his names and titles. Having obtained the permission of the Emperor, he made a grant to the *basadis* of all the property which formerly belonged to the other *basadis*.

Lakshma was in office for a very short period; for we see that in 1070 A.D. he was succeeded by the Ganga prince Udayāditya. A grant of the latter dated about A.D. 1070 gives him the titles of Mahārājādhirāja paramēśvara, boon lord of Kōḷāla-pura, lord of Nandagiri, Vikrama-Ganga and *Jayad-uttaranga*, and adds that he was ruling the Gangavāḍi, Banavasi and the Sāntalige provinces <sup>1</sup>. The records of 1074 style him the mahāsāmantādhipati, the great minister, mahā-prachanḍa-daṇḍanāyaka, chief over the property of the court, great senior minister of peace and war, and mane-verggaḍe-daṇḍanāyaka <sup>2</sup>. He is described in these inscriptions as the governor of the Banavasi Twelve Thousand and the Sāntalige Thousand <sup>3</sup>, from which we conclude that a new governor was appointed at this date for the Gangavāḍi province. His Kerehaḷḷi (Nagar Taluqua) grant informs us that he was in charge of the taxes, such as the *Sayār*, the *vaḍḍa-rāvuḷa* and the *perḷḷunka* of the Banavasi Twelve Thousand and the *bilkode* and the *perḷḷunka* of the Sāntalige Thousand <sup>4</sup>.

It appears from his inscriptions that Udayāditya was a generous prince who combined the man of dissipation with the devotee. We are told in one of these epigraphs that he laved the feet of the god Garuḍēśvara of the Mūlasthāna Kerehaḷḷi and made a grant either of money or of land to the students <sup>5</sup>. Another record represents him as granting, for the god's perpetual lamp and for oil for the lights of the *maṭha* at Kuṭṭūr, half the revenue of the four customs duties of the *vaḍḍa-rāvuḷa*, the *perḷḷunka*, and the two *bilkode* that were levied on all the imported articles at this place <sup>6</sup>. On the other hand a third inscription of his records a grant made by him to the dancing girls for the purpose of buying looking glasses <sup>7</sup>, which incident might

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 109.

<sup>2</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 295; VIII, Sb, 299.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.; E. C., VIII, Ng, 30.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> E. C., VIII Sb 299.

<sup>7</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 225.

perhaps suggest that he was a great lover of dancing. It may also be inferred from another epigraph of the same period that he hopelessly lapsed into debauchery, and his official duties must in consequence have suffered from neglect. There is a grant he made to a dancing girl by name Lachhavi-dēvi, who apparently was his mistress. The record describes her as "the beloved of his heart and eyes, constant sharer in a thousand supreme delights and pleasures, equal to a second Lakshmi, by nature formed for good fortune, in gifts the *Vidyādhari* (or fairy) of the world, skilled in all accomplishments, with eyes of the wild partridge (*chakōra*), with graceful languid gait, devoted to singing and dancing, a head-jewel of intelligence, a protecting jewel to dependents, to beggars a moving treasure-urn, obtainer of a boon from the goddess Sārādā, Udayāditya-dēva's other half, mistress of astonishing feeling and sentiment in bright and new mode of charming" <sup>1</sup>.

It was probably at this period when Udayāditya was whiling away his time with his mistress at Beḷagāmi and the two brothers Somēśvara and Vikramāditya were engaged in a disastrous civil war that Kīrttivarmma renounced his allegiance to the Chalukyas and asserted his independence<sup>2</sup>. We have seen that the rebellion was promptly subdued by Jayakēśi I of Goa, and Udayāditya who had failed in his duty was either degraded or dismissed from his office on the accession of Vikramāditya. His name does not occur in the subsequent records till we come to A. D. 1112.

The insurrection of Kīrttivarmma taught a good lesson to the Chalukya sovereign, inasmuch as it shewed him the necessity of exercising a stronger hold over the feudatories in the south. Accordingly we see him appointing his brother Jayasīṃha as the viceroy of Banavasi. Bilhaṇa says in his *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita* that soon after he took the reins of government into his hands Vikramāditya gave his younger brother the office of viceroy of Vanavāsa<sup>3</sup>. The appointment was probably made about A. D. 1076. For a record dated in the following year represents Jayasīṃha as already holding that position<sup>4</sup>.

Jayasīṃha acted as Yuva-rāja at Banavasi for a period of over four years. The records of this period style him "Yuva-rāja Chālu-

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 109.

<sup>2</sup> Ante, pp. 110-111.

<sup>3</sup> Bühler, *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita*, pp. ५५-५६, v. 99; I. A., V, p. 323.

<sup>4</sup> *Carn. Des. Inscriptions* I p 287 referred to by Fleet *Kanarese Dynasties* p 449

kya-Pallava Permmānaḍi-dēva Vīra Nolamba," and credit him with the wardenship of the Sāntalige Thousand, the Belvala Three Hundred, the Puligere Three Hundred, and the Basavaḷḷi Thousand<sup>1</sup>.

But the office of mahāsāmāntādhipati or governor was not abolished when Jayasimha was appointed the viceroy. For Udayāditya's place was in the meantime filled by Barmma-dēvarasa. From the two records of this governor dated 1077, we may infer that he held office directly under Vikramāditya, as they do not refer to Jayasimha as the superior of Barmma-dēvarasa<sup>2</sup>. This may lead us to conclude that during the first period of his viceroyalty Jayasimha's duties mainly consisted in supervising the activities of the mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras, and he exercised little or no control over the governors. The inscriptions of Barmma-dēvarasa above referred to indicate that he was in charge of the same provinces as were governed by his predecessor Udayāditya. These were the Banavasi Twelve Thousand, Sāntalige Thousand and the eighteen *agrahūras*<sup>3</sup>.

Barmma-dēvarasa was soon succeeded by the daṇḍanāyaka Bala-dēvayya. The lithic record that mentions his name is dated 1080 A. D. and alludes to Yuva-rāja Jayasimha as his immediate superior<sup>4</sup>. This shows that Jayasimha had by this time come to exercise authority over the governors as well.

Jayasimha held the office of viceroy till A. D. 1080, when he was deposed. The circumstances leading to his downfall are narrated by Bilhana in his *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita*. He tells us that towards the end of the rainy season, Vikramāditya was informed by a confidential adviser that Jayasimha, his brother, was meditating treason. In proof of his assertion the reporter stated that Jayasimha was amassing wealth by oppressing his subjects, that he had increased his army and had subjected the forest tribes to himself, that he was seeking the friendship of the Drāviḍa king, and that, worst of all, he was trying to seduce Vikramāditya's soldiers from their allegiance. Vikramāditya on the news of the treachery being confirmed through the agency of his spies, addressed friendly exhortations to his brother to the effect that he should desist from his evil purpose. But it was all in vain. Jayasimha, joined by

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.; E. C., VII, Sk, 293, 297.

<sup>2</sup> E. C., VII Sk 44 124

<sup>3</sup> Ibid

<sup>4</sup> E C VII Sk 297



many maṇḍalīkas advanced northwards and encamped on the banks of the Kriṣṇa. Vikramāditya was thus compelled to take the field in self defence. Collecting a large army he also advanced to the Kriṣṇa. A battle was fought, Jayasimha's army was scattered and its leader was captured in his flight through the jungles. Bilhana concludes this woeful tale by saying that "though Vikrama would have had reason enough to deal hardly with the captive, he spoke kindly to him and consoled him"<sup>1</sup>. But he does not tell us what finally became of Jayasimha.

It appears from an inscription of 1088 A.D. that a certain mahāsāmantādhipati Guṇḍamarasa was appointed about this time the governor of the Banavasi province. The record represents him as ruling "the *kampana*, the *agrahāra*, both the *vaḍḍa-rāvula* and the *hejjunka*, and the *bilkode* in the Banavāse-nāḍ"<sup>2</sup>. The grant accords to him the titles of mahāsāmantādhipati, the great minister and daṇḍanāyaka, and mane-verggaḍe daṇḍanāyaka. But we do not know how long he held this office, as this is the only record of his that is extant. It was probably under Guṇḍamarasa that mādhuvapayya was acting as the *perggaḍe* of the Banavasi Twelve Thousand. The record which gives this detail is dated 1084 A.D.<sup>3</sup>

Daṇḍanātha Śrī-dharayya was very likely the successor of Guṇḍamarasa. A grant of A.D. 1089 tells us that he was ruling the Mēlvatte *vaḍḍa-rāvula* and the two *bilkode*. The record gives him the usual titles of the governors<sup>4</sup>. Changa-dēvayya is said to be the *perggaḍe* under him, and it appears that he was charged with the collection of the grain customs of Banavasi<sup>5</sup>.

Dēvappayya Chaveṇḍarasa was the next governor of Banavasi. A record of about A.D. 1092 gives him the titles of great minister and general, superintendent of the guards of the female apartments, and *perggaḍe* daṇḍanāyaka of the Banavasi-nāḍ<sup>6</sup>.

Dr. Fleet has mentioned that in 1098-99 the Banavasi province was ruled by the daṇḍanāyaka Padmanābhayya<sup>7</sup>.

Mahāpradhāna, Banavāsi-verggaḍe, daṇḍanāyaka Anantapāla,

<sup>1</sup> Bühler, *Vikramankadevacharita*, pp. १२२-१३५, 'cantos XIV and XV; *J. A.*, V, p. 323.

<sup>2</sup> *E. C.*, VII, Sk, 111.

<sup>3</sup> *E. C.*, VIII, Sb, 236.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Sb, 388.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *E. C.*, VII, Sk, 166.

<sup>7</sup> Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 451. Dr. Fleet does not mention the source of his information.

also styled mahasamantadhipati, was the governor for the next thirteen years<sup>1</sup>. He was ruling the Gajagaṇḍa Six Hundred and the Banavasi Twelve Thousand with the management of the *achchu-pannāya* tax of the Seven-and-a-half Lakh country in about A. D. 1100<sup>2</sup>. The records of 1103 and 1104 invest him with the government of the same districts and the management of the *vaḍḍa-rāvuḷa* and the *perjjunka* thereof<sup>3</sup>. In 1107 he is described as ruling the two Six Hundreds and the Banavasi Twelve Thousand<sup>4</sup>, and it is possible that in 1110 he held the same provinces<sup>5</sup>.

In 1112-13 the mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Udayāditya Ganga Permmāḍi-dēva, of the Western Ganga family, was given the province of Banavasi Twelve Thousand and the Sāntalige Thousand. This is for the first and the last time we hear of this prince after his deposition in 1075<sup>6</sup>. He remained in office for only one year, when Anantapāla was again entrusted with the government of the Banavasi country<sup>7</sup>. We may surmise that having now advanced in years Udayāditya died of old age.

The Chalukya official in charge of the various taxes of the Banavasi Twelve Thousand during the governorship of Anantapāla was one Gōvindarasa. He is not accorded any titles in the early Chalukya records, but the later ones indicate that he rapidly ascended the official ladder until at last he was made mahāsāmanta and confirmed in or about A.D. 1117 as the governor of the Banavasi province<sup>8</sup>. We shall now trace his career. An inscription of about 1100 describes him as an ordinary Chalukya official with the management of the Mēlvatte *vaḍḍa-rāvuḷa*<sup>9</sup>. In 1103 he became a *daṇḍanāyaka*<sup>10</sup>, and in the following year he was managing the *vaḍḍa-rāvuḷa* of the Banavasi province and the *achchu-pannāya* of the Fifty Six<sup>11</sup>. In 1107 he rose to the office of *mahā-prachanḍa-daṇḍanāyaka* and was in charge of the *vaḍḍa-rāvuḷa*, the *perjjunka*, and the two *bilkode* of the Banavasi Twelve Thousand<sup>12</sup>. The title

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 311.

<sup>3</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 98, 131; VIII, Sb, 564; Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, pp. 139, 512; Fleet, P. S. & O. C. *Inscriptions*, No. 171.

<sup>4</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 192.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., Sk, 149.

<sup>6</sup> Ante, p. 121.

<sup>7</sup> Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 451.

<sup>8</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 316.

<sup>9</sup> Fleet, o. c., p. 451; E. C., VII, Sk, 311.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 98.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 131.

<sup>12</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 192.

of mahasamantād upatī was soon conferred upon him and in 1108 he acted in the place of Anantapala as the governor of the Banavasi province. In 1117 however he was raised to the dignity of great minister and succeeded Anantapāla as the governor of Banavasi<sup>2</sup>.

Gōvinda-dēva ruled for a period of six years when he was succeeded by the mane-verggaḍe-daṇḍanāyaka Sālīpayya who is styled the great minister. In 1123 Sālīpayya had under him one Rāmāyya who was obviously the *perggaḍe* of the Banavasi Twelve Thousand<sup>3</sup>.

Bhōgayya was the next Chalukya governor. An inscription of 1126 calls him the Kannaḍa minister for peace and war, general of the army and the mane-verggaḍe daṇḍanāyaka. It also mentions one Mēdimayya who, as is plain from his title, was in charge of the *vaḍḍa-rāvuḷa*. Here the governor is said to have granted to a temple '1 load in 100 loads of salt, and one *hāga* for 200 loads of grain'<sup>4</sup>.

We do not find the name of any governor in the inscriptions, for the subsequent period of fifteen years. This was possibly because of the unsettled state of the country due to the protracted struggle between the Hoysaḷas and the Kadambas.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid, Sk, 294.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Sk, 246.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 170.

## Taila II

Taila was the son of Śāntivarṃma II and of his Pāṇḍya consort Siriya-dēvi<sup>1</sup>. The Kadamba inscriptions of this period do not say when precisely he came to the throne. However the fact that the latest date for Śāntivarṃma afforded by the epigraphs is A. D. 1088<sup>2</sup> and the earliest record of Taila was issued in 1099<sup>3</sup>, may lead us to infer that A. D. 1091-95 was probably the year of his accession.

The early records of this ruler mostly associate him with the government only of Hāṅgal<sup>4</sup>. But all the later ones, as also that of Kargudari (1108), invariably assert that he was ruling the Hāṅgal as well as the Banavasi provinces<sup>5</sup>. This might confirm our view that by virtue of the agreement that had been arrived at in the previous reign, Tailapa succeeded to the principality of Hāṅgal, which was held by his father, while Kīrtivarṃma continued to govern the Banavasi Twelve Thousand till about A. D. 1116 when he died<sup>6</sup>. Thereafter however the two provinces were brought under the rule of Tailapa. In fact his records issued after this date contain grants made by him both to private persons and to public institutions within the Banavasi-nāḍ<sup>7</sup>. These records also indicate that in the latter part of his reign he acquired the Sāntaḷige Thousand<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Sancrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., X, p. 254.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 561.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> *E. I.*, XIII, pp. 14, 15, 17.

<sup>5</sup> Appendix, No. III, 9, 10; *E. C.*, VII, III, 47; Sk, 100; VIII, Sb, 127.

<sup>6</sup> *E. C.*, VIII, Sb, 337. This is the last inscription of Kīrtivarṃma.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., Sb, 141, 357; VII, Sk, 100.

<sup>8</sup> *E. C.*, VII, HI, 47; VIII, Sb, 141.

We are told in one of his early inscriptions that he married a Pāṇḍya princess named Bāchala-dēvi<sup>1</sup>. She was probably a sister of Tribhuvanamalla, the Pāṇḍya ruler of Uchchangi, who was a contemporary of Tailapa<sup>2</sup>. This event might suggest a political alliance concluded between the two neighbouring powers with a view to the defence of each other's territories. Indeed a glance at the state of affairs in the Dekkan would show us that the position of these chiefs as mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras was at this time seriously threatened by the growing power of the Hoysaḷas. The latter had risen to prominence by the distinguished services they had rendered to the Chalukyas in their wars against the Chōḷas and the Māḷawas, and were now attempting to impose their overlordship on the neighbouring kings.

It seems possible that in compliance with the terms of the treaty, Tailapa was forced into a war with the Hoysaḷas in 1116, when the latter under their great King Viṣṇuvardhana attacked the Pāṇḍyas. The result of this expedition was that the Pāṇḍyas were defeated at the battle of Dumme<sup>3</sup>, and the conquest of Uchchangi was soon completed by Chāma-dēva, the general of Viṣṇuvardhana<sup>4</sup>.

On the conclusion of this war, Viṣṇuvardhana started to lead predatory excursions into the Kadamba territories. These inroads were undertaken possibly with the object of revenging himself on the Kadambas for having assisted the Pāṇḍyas. The two undated inscriptions assigned to 1120 A.D. describe him as "the capturer of Gangavāḍi, Nolaṃbavāḍi, Uchchangi and Hānungal"<sup>5</sup>. Moreover they also style him 'Vīra-Ganga Poysaḷa-Deva', in contrast to the later records which add the word 'Kadamba' to his titles. This shows that he had not as yet conquered the Kadambas, but was merely raiding their kingdom. In fact the Hoysaḷa inscriptions of this period speak of him as 'subduing the pride of the Kadambas' which obviously means that he had not subdued them when this grant was issued.

Viṣṇuvardhana continued to lead military expeditions of this kind till A. D. 1130, when he attacked Hāngal itself with the inten-

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Sanscrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., X, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> E. C., XI, Dg, 39, 151, 155.

<sup>3</sup> E. C., VI, Cm, 99.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., Cm, 29, 30.

<sup>5</sup> E. C., V, Cn, 212; VI, Tk, 76.

ion of finally overthrowing the Kadambas, and annexing their kingdom<sup>1</sup>. It was probably before he besieged Hāṅgal that he defeated Maṣaṇa and took possession of Banavasi<sup>2</sup>. Maṣaṇa was very likely the Kadamba governor of Banavasi; for an inscription of 1130 styles him 'maṇḍalika'. The Hoysala record of 1137 referring to this battle states that Viṣṇuvardhana destroyed "root and branch Maṣaṇa, who was a foe to the country", and "wrote down Banavāsi Twelve Thousand in his *kudita* (account book)"<sup>3</sup>.

After reducing Banavasi, Viṣṇuvardhana seems to have proceeded north to Hāṅgal, the capital of the Kadambas. On the way he was met by Taila Nāga, the brother-in-law and generalissimo of Tailapa-dēva, who seems to have attempted to prevent Viṣṇuvardhana from crossing the Dharma stream, which lies half way between Banavasi and Hāṅgal. But Viṣṇuvardhana succeeded in making his way across the river, after defeating and slaying the Kadamba general. It may be inferred from the viragal giving us this valuable piece of information, that this battle was fought on the river, since a raft (ಪಲ್ಲಕ್ಕು) seems to have played its part during the action<sup>4</sup>. The Kadamba army probably escaped to Hāṅgal, closely pursued by the Hoysalas, who subsequently besieged the capital. Tailapa put up a very stout resistance, as can be gathered from the two Hoysala viragals, which may be assigned to this period. These memorial tablets whilst exalting the valour of the Hoysala heroes that fell on this occasion also throw some light on the desperate fight that was maintained by the Kadambas. "When Viṣṇuvardhana was ruling", says one of these viragals, "on his besieging the fort of Hāṅgungal, Dēva, the Rakkasa warrior of Bidirūr, attacked the troops of elephants and horses, but finding the supply of arrows exhausted, he applied to Dēvaṇṇa, and being favoured with his quiver, marched again to the battle, killed many and attained the world of gods"<sup>5</sup>. The other viragal refers to Viṣṇuvardhana's general Muguvaṇahisa of Bidirūr, who fought "against the troops of elephants and horses in the fort of Hāṅgal and attained the world of gods"<sup>6</sup>.

But the efforts of Tailapa were of no avail. The fort was very likely surrendered to the enemy and Tailapa himself was

<sup>1</sup> Cf. below, p. 132.

<sup>2</sup> E. C., VII, HI, 47.

<sup>3</sup> E. C., V, BI, 17.

<sup>4</sup> E. C., V, BI, 17.

<sup>5</sup> Appendix, No. III, 11.

<sup>6</sup> M A R 1916 p. 53.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. p. 52.

either killed in the thick of the fight or was captured and beheaded by Vishṇuvardhana. The Hoysaḷa records give us the latter version<sup>1</sup>, while the Kadamba inscription merely says that he went to *svarga* on Monday, November 14th, 1130<sup>2</sup>. It also records that on this day Boppana, the younger brother of Maṣaṇayya "making good his word (given) for the occasion (*vēḷevākyam*), went to *svarga* with Tailapa-Dēva". This would perhaps mean that Boppana, in fulfilment of the vow he had taken to live and die with the King, committed suicide on the death of Tailapa.

It may be inferred from a viragal of A. D. 1127, that Tailapa II was also engaged in hostilities at this date with the Śāntara King Pērmāḍi. The possible reason for this strained relationship was that the Śāntara King being dispossessed of his dominions either by his overlord or by Taila, attempted to recover his lost kingdom by force of arms. Hence he invested the city of Iśapura, for whose relief, the mane-veggade daṇḍanāyaka Maṣaṇayya sent his whole army under his brother-in-law Kaliga Nāyaka<sup>3</sup>. The Śāntara troops were easily dispersed, for we find the Śāntalige Thousand in a record of 1130 still in the possession of the Kadambas<sup>4</sup>.

Tailapa-dēva though he failed in his foreign policy, was nevertheless remarkably successful in the internal administration of his kingdom. He had above all the good of his subjects at heart, which is attested by the large public works he undertook during his reign. It can be deduced from a record of 1129 that he started many useful schemes for the improvement of agriculture in the country. Fresh channels and tanks were constructed by his orders and the uncultivated land was thus brought under cultivation<sup>5</sup>. On the other hand liberal arts were not neglected. The records show that considerable stimulus was given to learning and to religion. The *agrahāra* of Beḷagāmi received his patronage in a special manner<sup>6</sup>. He repaired old shrines and built new ones which he endowed with rich grants of land<sup>7</sup>. An inscription of 1107 tells us that he worshipped the feet of Mahēndra Sōma Pandita-dēva, the *āchārya* of the sanctuary of Mahā-svayambhu-Sōmanātha, and granted as an imperial gift the town of Kallavaṇa for the maintenance of the temple<sup>8</sup>. Another inscription of A.D. 1120, found at

<sup>1</sup> E. C., XII, Tp, 31.    <sup>2</sup> E. C., VII, H1, 47.    <sup>3</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 141.

<sup>4</sup> E. C., VII, H1, 47.    <sup>5</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 359.    <sup>6</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 100.

<sup>7</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., X, p. 254.

<sup>8</sup> E I XVI p 42.

the entrance of Halekōṭe at Hāṅgaḍ, states that he made a grant of three plots of fertile land to the temple of the god Hanuman, for the purpose of supplying sandal wood and incense to the god and clothes and loin cloth to the ascetics. Further in order to meet the usual expenses, he bequeathed to the temple a part of the tax on pepper and salt-bags <sup>1</sup>.

The inscriptions of Tailapa mention the name of pergaḍe Nāga-dēva, who was probably the excise commissioner of the country. He is described as the chief minister of the mighty Tailapa-dēva. The customs official under him was one Kēśirāja <sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Appendix, No. III, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 10.



## CHAPTER X

### Mayuravarmma III

**T**he war between the Kadambas and the Hoysaḥas continued in the reign of Mayūravarmma III. He was the eldest son of Tailapa and succeeded the latter on his death during the siege of Hāṅgal<sup>1</sup>. The two inscriptions of this ruler dated 1031 describe him as the ruler of the Banavasi Twelve Thousand<sup>2</sup>, the Hāṅgal Five Hundred, and the Sāntalige Thousand, which clearly shows that the Kadambas had not been completely vanquished, but were still fighting for their possessions.

It may be inferred from a *viragaḷ* at Hāṅgal that Masaṇayya, the veteran general of the Kadambas, was conducting the operations. For it avers that at the request of "Masaṇa who was the patron and superior Nāyaka, Basava of great prowess, for the protection of the titles of the boy king Hemma, mounted his horse to fight with Malla at the head of 500 cavalry of Tailapa. Basava drove away the besiegers with great vehemence, struck to drive away the enemy, being angry, conquered some of them, and cut them into halves"<sup>3</sup>. The boy king mentioned here by the name of Hemma was probably Mayūravarmma, who, it would appear, was young at the death of his father. Mayūravarmma was evidently his title and Hemma was most likely his real name. It is possible that in the midst of this struggle Mayūravarmma died, for in the following year (1132) we see his brother Mallikārjuna ruling the same provinces of Banavasi Twelve Thousand and Hāṅgal Five Hundred<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> *E. C.*, VIII, Sb, 49; VII, H1, 47.

<sup>2</sup> *Carn. Desa Inscriptions*, I, pp. 703, 706, referred to by Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 562.      <sup>3</sup> Appendix, No. III, 12; *E. C.*, VII, H1, 47.

<sup>4</sup> *Carn. Desa Inscriptions*, I, p. 636, referred to by Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 562.

## Mallikarjuna

**M**allikārjuna very probably succeeded for the time being in ousting the Hoysālas from Hāṅgal and Banavasi. A viragal on the year 1138 remarks that Vira-Gaṅga Hoysāla-dēva set out on an expedition of conquest, and crossing over the Tuṅgabhadrā, marched to Banavasi-nāḍ, and in Dhanur-māsa of the Śaka year 1060, the year Kājavukti, laid siege to Banavasi and the fort of Hāṅgal<sup>1</sup>. This campaign was evidently necessitated by the recovery of his lost territories by Mallikārjuna. We are told that on this occasion the latter entrusted the defence of the fort to his veteran general Maṣaṇa<sup>2</sup>. Further in order to divert the attention of Viṣṇuvardhana, the Kādamba King seems to have instructed Jakki-seṭṭi to raid Hiriā-Māguḍi, which was probably a stronghold of the Hoysālas<sup>3</sup>. However in spite of the strenuous efforts of the brave Kādamba monarch, the expedition resulted in a great success for Viṣṇuvardhana. A grant which he issued in the following year describes him as the "capturer of Talakāḍu, Koṅgu, Nangali, Gaṅgavāḍi, Noḷambavāḍi, Banavase and Hānuṅgal", and states that he was at this time "in the camp of the royal city (*rājadhāni*) Baṅkāpura ruling the kingdom of the world"<sup>4</sup>. It was very likely soon after the fall of Hāṅgal that the fierce battle at Baṅkāpur, referred to in a viragal of this period, was fought between the Kādambas and the Hoysālas. The latter again came out victorious and Maṣaṇa of Tagare, who was the general of the Kādamba forces, lost his son, Sōvaṇa on the battle-field<sup>5</sup>. Consequently Baṅkāpur passed into the

<sup>1</sup> E. C., V, B1, 202.<sup>2</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 414.<sup>3</sup> M. A. R. 1926 p 45<sup>4</sup> M. A. R., 1926, p. 45.<sup>5</sup> E. C., V, Cn, 199.

hands of Vishṇuvardhana who made it one of his capitals (ರಾಜಧಾನಿ)<sup>1</sup>. Having temporarily deprived Jayakēśi II, the Goa Kadamba King, of his province of Halsi in 1140, Vishṇuvardhana was ruling that year from his capital of Baṅkāpur his vast kingdom, which comprised the Gangavādi Ninety-six Thousand, the Banavasi Twelve Thousand, the Palāsige Twelve Thousand and the Six Hundreds "under the shadow of his sole umbrella"<sup>2</sup>. He seems to have made Hāṅgal also one of his residences, for in the same year we see him with his crowned Queen Bammala-dēvi ruling the kingdom from Hāṅgal<sup>3</sup>. We also learn from an inscription in the Sorab Taluqua that he appointed his own governor to collect the regalia from the province of Banavasi<sup>4</sup>, thereby flouting the authority of the Emperor who alone possessed the right to collect the imperial dues from this province. In fact Jagadēkamalla the reigning Emperor had already had his governor in the Banavasi province in the person of the Perggaḍe-daṇḍanāyaka Bammaṇayya<sup>5</sup>.

In the same year when Vishṇuvardhana was at his royal city of Baṅkāpura, Jayakēśi II, the Goa Kadamba King, taking advantage of his absence, raided the city of Hāṅgai<sup>6</sup>. This he did probably in retaliation of the predatory raid of the Hoysaḷas in that year on Palāśika (Halsi), which was one of the seats of Jayakēśi's government<sup>7</sup>.

But the triumph of Vishṇuvardhana was soon clouded by the arrival and attack of the Sinda chief Pērmāḍi. The military activities of the Hoysaḷas had long attracted the notice of the Chalukya Emperor Jagadēkamalla II, who eventually deputed his loyal feudatory Pērmāḍi I to check their growing power. A Sinda record assigned to A. D. 1144, speaking about this campaign of Pērmāḍi says: "He seized upon the royal power of Poysaḷa, who was the foremost of the fierce rulers of the earth, and acquired the reputation of being himself proof against all reverses. Going to the mountain passes of the marauder Biṭṭiga, plundering him, besieging Dhōrasamudra, and pursuing him till he arrived at, and

<sup>1</sup> E. C., V, Cn, 199.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Ak, 18.

<sup>3</sup> E. C., XII, Gb, 13.

<sup>4</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 348.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, pp. 457-458.

<sup>6</sup> E. C.- VI- Cn, 122.

<sup>7</sup> E. C. V Ak 18

## CHAPTER XI

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<sup>1</sup> E. C., V, Cn, 199.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Ak, 18.

<sup>3</sup> E. C., XII, Gb, 13.

<sup>4</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 348.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, pp. 457-458.

<sup>6</sup> E. C. VI. Cn-122.

<sup>7</sup> E. C. V Ak, 18.

took the city of Bēlupura, king Pēma, of great glory—driving him before him with the help of his sword, arriving at the mountain pass of Vāhaḍi, and overcoming all obstacles,—acquired celebrity in the world. Pursuing and seizing in war the friends, (mighty) as elephants (though they were), of the kings who joined king Bit-tiga in the work of slaughter, (Pērmāḍi) unequalled in his great impetuosity, brought them (back as captives) with derisive cheers”<sup>1</sup>.

Though Vishṇuvardhana died in 1141<sup>2</sup> after his defeat at the hands of the Sinda chief, the struggle was continued for a period of two years more. A viragal of A. D. 1143 records that when Tribhuvanamalla Malli-dēvarasa (Mallikārjuna) “was ruling the kingdom of the Haive Five Hundred, Māhaḷige, Koṇḍarade, Kab-bunāḷige, the Four bāḍa and Mogala nāḍ in peace and wisdom,—Hoysala having raised a great army against Māhaḷige,— the great hero Hākara, overthrowing the army of elephants, horses, chariots and foot-soldiers, putting the force to flight, gained the world of the gods”<sup>3</sup>. But it seems certain that this war was concluded before A. D. 1145. Mallikārjuna was probably restored to his dominions by the imperial general. A Kadamba inscription of 1145 describes him as ruling his kingdom under the Chalukya emperor Pēma-Jagadēkamalla II<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Old Canarese and Sanscrit Inscriptions relating to the Chieftains of the Sindavamsa*, J. B. B. R. A. S., XI, pp. 244-245.

<sup>2</sup> E. C., VI, Cn, 95.

<sup>3</sup> E. C., VIII, Sa, 58.

<sup>4</sup> *Carn. Desa Inscriptions*, I, p. 772, referred to by Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 562.

## CHAPTER XII

### Tailama

**M**allikārjuna did not long survive Vishṇuvardhana, his adversary. He followed him to the grave in or about A.D. 1146 and was succeeded by Tailama, who probably was his brother<sup>1</sup>. The latter, seems to have ruled for a short period of five years, and his reign was on the whole uneventful. The warlike spirit of the Hoysaḷas evidently suffered a check for want of capable military leaders. Narasiṃha, the son and successor of Vishṇuvardhana, was a mere child of eight years<sup>2</sup>, at the death of his father, and throughout his life he remained a weak ruler.

It was probably in the reign of Tailama that Goravarasa, who appears to have been the son of Boppa<sup>3</sup>, freed himself of the control of the Kadambas of Hāṅgal and asserted his independence. Boppa was a member of the branch of the Kadamba family which was in charge of the Nāgarkhaṇḍa Seventy in the time of Taila<sup>4</sup>. By this time the wars of Vishṇuvardhana had considerably weakened the power of the King of Hāṅgal; and this weakness of the central government was possibly taken advantage of by the governor of the Nāgarkhaṇḍa Seventy Goravarasa, to establish his own independence. A record assigned to about A.D. 1145 confers on him all the titles that usually accompany the Kadamba kings. The inscription also tells us that after hearing a discourse on *dharma* and

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<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 562. The inscription does not seem to have been published.

<sup>2</sup> *E. C.*, V, Bl, 93. Cf. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 101.

<sup>3</sup> *E. C.*, VIII, Sb, 67. He calls himself Bangara-Bappa's warrior.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Sb, 325, 328. He was probably a brother of Taila, who is mentioned in an inscription at Lakshmesvar under the name of Bikki. *E. I.* XVI, p 4

washing the feet of the 32 000 Brahma is he remitted certain dues or taxes, for the repose of the soul of his senior queen Santale-devi, who had died a few days before<sup>1</sup>. Another record of Goravarasa refers to a war waged by him<sup>2</sup>.

Goravarasa seems to have ruled for a period of over five years, when it seems likely he was defeated or more probably slain by Kīrtti-dēva, the son of Tailama, who, as we shall presently see, was a more successful monarch than his father.

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<sup>1</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 67.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Sb, 46.



## CHAPTER XIII

### Kirtti-deva

**K**irtti-dēva, the eldest son of Tailama, ascended the throne in or about A. D. 1151<sup>1</sup>. He remained as the feudatory of the Chalukyas for the first five years of his reign, after which he seems to have acknowledged the Kalachurya Bijjala as his liege-lord.

This period witnessed the steady decline of the western Chalukya supremacy. Bijjala of the Kalachurya family, who discharged for a time the dual functions of general and minister of the Chalukyas, misused the enormous power he had acquired by virtue of these offices to the destruction of the sovereignty of the latter<sup>2</sup>. We learn from one of the inscriptions that consequent on the overthrow of the Chalukya power, Taila III, who was then the Chalukya Emperor, was forced to beat a precipitate retreat southwards to take refuge at Banavasi<sup>3</sup>. This event transpired in 1156.

The province of Banavasi was at this time in the possession of the Kadamba King Mauli-Tailapa, who was, according to the Lakshmēśvar record, the grandson of Taila II<sup>4</sup>, and probably a brother of Kirtti-dēva. It may be inferred from this inscription that Vira-Pāṇḍya of Uchchangi was a feudatory of the Kadambas and that he was in charge of the Puligeṛe country.

What befell the Chalukya Emperor in the South is not recorded in the epigraphical records. But it is at all events evident that the Kadambas were made to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Kalachuryas only after a good deal of pressure was brought to bear upon them. In fact one of the inscriptions of Bijjala seems

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<sup>1</sup> *E. C.*, VIII, Sb, 179.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 465.

<sup>3</sup> *Carn. Desa Inscriptions*, II, p. 16, referred to by Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 457.

<sup>4</sup> *E. I.* XVI p. 44.

to allude to an expedition undertaken by him with the object of conquering the Kadambas, when it records that he took possession of "the jewelled earrings, the rutting elephants and all possessions of the lord of the Vanavasi country, who bowed down in fear"<sup>1</sup>. That hostilities broke out at this period is also evidenced from the two viragals which are dated respectively in A. D. 1559 and 1162. The first of these viragals says: "... Hiriya-Nāyaka's brother-in-law Chikka-kēta, (obedient to) the mind's order of.. Billaya, the senior general of the Banavase-nāḍ, appointed by the Kāḍ(amba) King, the mahā-maṇḍalēśvara Kumāra-kīrtti-dēva — when the whole of Bijjaṇa-Dēva's officers, the Chauṭi Kings, and an army under twelve chieftains came and laid siege to the Gutti fort, and the town was ruined,... the archers were following, and the spearmen were beaten,—chopping in pieces and slaying many, Kētaṇa gained the world of gods"<sup>2</sup>. The second viragal records: "When the mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Kīrtti-Dēva's great minister, Kumāra maṇḍalika Bammarasa was ruling the kingdom in peace and wisdom, Bijjaṇa-Dēva's minister Sōyavamarasa ... was fighting, saying, 'I will besiege Gutti',—Pulleya Nāyaka..... slew many and gained the world of gods"<sup>3</sup>.

Nevertheless it is obvious that the Kadambas acknowledged the overlordship of the Kaḷachuryas about the year 1163. For a Kadamba viragal of this year, as it refers itself to the reign of Bijjala, clearly implies that the Kaḷachuryas had by this time reduced the Kadambas to submission<sup>4</sup>.

This was perhaps partly accelerated by the invasion of the Kadamba kingdom by the Śāntara King Jaga-dēva. The latter seems to have taken advantage of the weakness of the Kadambas, caused no doubt by their protracted struggle with the Hoysaḷas, and encroached on their territories. This is evidenced by an inscription of Jaga-dēva dated 1160 which says that he was ruling over the Banavasi Twelve Thousand, besides his hereditary province of the Śāntalige Thousand<sup>5</sup>. Now it is definitely known that the former province was always in the possession of the Kadambas. Accordingly the fact that Jaga-dēva is said to be ruling

<sup>1</sup> E. I., V, p. 179.

<sup>2</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 418.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Sb, 568.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., Sb, 177. The same stone at the Kapli Bhavi, Hangal, on which is inscribed the record of Tailapa-deva, also contains an inscription of Kasapayya Nayaka and Enka Nayaka the custom officials of Bijjala

Appendix, III No. 10

<sup>5</sup> E. C. VIII, Sa 28

it in 1162 shows that he had conquered at least a part of it about this period

Kīrtti-dēva however soon succeeded in repulsing the Śāntaras. We are told in an inscription of 1163 that he marched with the mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras Ekkalarasa and Bammaṇṇa, against the mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Jaga-dēvarasa<sup>1</sup>. They seem to have met with conspicuous success, as Jaga-dēva was forced to leave the Kadamba country and rush to the defence of his own capital. Kīrtti-dēva conquered almost half of the Śāntalige Thousand, and in 1165 laid siege to Andāsura, a fort of the Śāntaras very close to Hom-bucha, their capital. This siege is referred to both in the Kadamba and in the Śāntara records<sup>2</sup>.

In his fight with the Śāntaras Kīrtti-dēva was probably helped by his overlord Bijjala. In fact a Śāntara record which refers to the same siege, explicitly states that Andāsura was besieged by express orders of Bijjala. It may be that Jaga-dēva, intoxicated by his early successes against the Kadambas, refused to acknowledge the Kaḷachurya supremacy; whereupon Bijjala dispatched his feudatories, mentioned in the record, and reduced him to submission. That Jaga-dēva eventually became a feudatory of the Kaḷachuryas is shown by a later Śāntara record which describes him as, 'a dweller at the lotus feet' of the Kaḷachurya Emperor Sōvidēva<sup>3</sup>.

The expeditions of Kīrtti-dēva against the Hoysaḷas were crowned with equal success. During this memorable reign the Kadambas would appear to have recovered the whole of the territory wrested from them by the Hoysaḷa kings. We are told in a document of a later period that Kīrtti-dēva chased away his enemies<sup>4</sup>; from which we may conclude that during the weak rule of the Hoysaḷa King Narasiṃha, Kīrtti-dēva gradually forced the Hoysaḷas to withdraw from the territory they had annexed under Viṣṇuvardhana. This was probably effected by re-capturing the Kadamba strongholds held by the enemy. This view is confirmed by a viragal of 1161 which represents maṇḍalika Bammaṇṇa as investing the Ginnalagundi fort<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., Sb, 177.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Sb, 567; Sa, 114.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Sa, 66.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. Sb 179

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. Sb 306.

It may be ascertained from an inscription of the year 1173, that one of the generals of Kīrtti-dēva, named Gorava Kittiga, rose in insurrection against his royal master, and set himself up as an independent chief. Kīrtti-dēva had promoted him to the rank of a *Sāmanta* and invested him with the *manneya* or seigniorship of the Banavasi Twelve Thousand and the command over five hundred soldiers. The record tells us that he abused the privileges which had been conferred upon him. He is said to have erected his camp at Andabaligatta-durgga, without acquainting his master with the scheme and getting his consent thereto, and succeeded in eliciting homage from the neighbouring gaḍas. The latter, so runs the record, "joining hands and placing his palaquin on their shoulders, gave him the umbrella". Then he received in audience the servants, and expressed his desire that they should be loyal to him, saying "whatever happens, I shall always have need of you". These servants were possibly the five hundred soldiers who had been given to him by the Kadamba Kīrtti-dēva. They however remained loyal to the latter, and after gaining the confidence of the rebellious governor, put him to death. The record makes it obvious that as soon as the news of the insurrection reached the King, the latter dispatched Dāsappa, the son of his faithful daṇḍanāyaka Bhilla-Bhamma, against the rebel<sup>1</sup>. It is possible that Kittiga was reduced to bitter straits by this general, whereupon the army which had joined hands with Kittiga at the preliminary stages of the revolt, turned against him, and in order to save their own skin, slew him and surrendered the Andabaligatta fort to Dāsappa.

We learn from the last two inscriptions of Kīrtti-dēva that he was the feudatory of the Kalachurya King Rāya Murāri-Sōvi-dēva in 1170 A. D.<sup>2</sup>, and of Sankama in 1178<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., Sa, 71.

<sup>2</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 171.

<sup>3</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 431.

## Banavasi under the Kalachuryas

To obtain a clear glimpse of the political situation of the Dekkan during the period of the Kalachurya supremacy, we have to get into touch with the activities of the various Kalachurya governors that were successively appointed to rule over the Banavasi-nād.

We have already noticed that in about A. D. 1156 the Chalukya King Taila III was dethroned by Bijjala, who himself assumed the imperial power. He appointed one Māyidēvarasa as the governor of the Banavasi Twelve Thousand for the collection of the regalia, such as the *heffunka* and the *vāḍḍa-rāula*<sup>1</sup>. But as has already been shown, the authority of the Kalachuryas was not acknowledged by the Kadambas till A. D. 1163.

The next notable figure in the galaxy of the Kalachurya governors was Kēśimayya. He is first mentioned in the records of about 1160<sup>2</sup>. In 1168 he is spoken of as touring through the Tadda-vāḍi Thousand, the Hāṅgal Five Hundred, and the Banavasi Twelve Thousand, and on that occasion he made a grant to a temple at Beḷagāmi<sup>3</sup>. This was on the whole a period of respite for all the contending parties, and consequently peace flourished in the Dekkan down to 1179.

In that year however the Hoysaḷas under their valiant King Ballāḷa II commenced their inroads in the north, bent on re-conquering all the territories which once formed part of their Empire. In 1177 Uchchangī was reduced and the Pāṇḍya King Kāma-dēva brought to submission<sup>4</sup>. This defeat of the Pāṇḍyas brought them

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 190.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Sk, 146.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Sk 92

<sup>4</sup> E. C., XII, Ck, 35.

close to the imperial Kaḷachuryas and stimulated them to contest with the latter the supremacy over the Dekkan. Accordingly to meet the Hoysaḷas in battle, Sankama-dēva, the Kaḷachurya Emperor, deputed his veteran general Kavaṇayya to the south in about 1179. The Kaḷachurya inscription speaking about this general says that having made a victorious expedition to the south, he came and pitched his camp in Bettaur (?) in the Banavasi country<sup>1</sup>. Here he was probably met by the Hoysaḷa King Ballāla II, and the war dragged on for some time, but no decisive victory was won by either of the parties for a period of two years. In 1181 they appear to have concluded a treaty by which they agreed to suspend operations. This treaty was perhaps brought about through the mediation of Kēśimayya, who seems to have been re-appointed this year the governor of the Banavasi Twelve Thousand. For the inscription clearly states that Āhava Malla, the Kaḷachurya King who succeeded Sankama, sent for Kēśimayya and appointed him to govern the south so that "the country may have quiet"<sup>2</sup>. That the Hoysaḷas and the Kaḷachuryas arrived at a settlement we conclude from the statement in the same record that the Hoysaḷa officers were present when this grant was made.

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<sup>1</sup> E. C., XI, Dg, 44.

<sup>2</sup> Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 117.

## Kama-deva

In the midst of this struggle Kīrtti-dēva died and was succeeded by his son Kāma-dēva. It is highly probable that in the war with the Hoysaḷas, the Kadambas joined their overlords the Kaḷachuryas. A viragal of 1181 records: "The pratāpa-chakravartti Hoysaṇa bhujabala vīra-Ballāḷa-Rāya's great minister Toya-Singeṇya-dañṇāyaka, when Basavaiya-Nāyaka of Hānungal was inside the guard-house in the Udare fort, — on the mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Banka-Nāyaka's son-in-law Gangeya-Sāhaṇi, Beyama-Sāhaṇi and Javaneya-Nāyaka, these three coming with all appliances and laying siege,—he fought, slew, distinguished himself and gained the world of gods"<sup>1</sup>. Very likely the Hoysaḷas had captured this fort of Udhare some time before, and it was retaken by the Kadamba generals mentioned above<sup>2</sup>.

The peace concluded between the Hoysaḷas and the Kaḷachuryas in 1181 was only a truce, and the two contending armies soon met at Hadadeyakuppa. Vīra-Ballāḷa was himself at the head of the Hoysaḷa host while the Kaḷachurya forces were under the command of their King Murāri-Kēśava-Nārasinga, and of the great general Gandapāṇḍava Channa-Kālama Sāhaṇi. The similarity of the name and the title suggests that he was the same Kāvaṇayya who had led the victorious expedition to the south in 1179<sup>3</sup>. Vīra-Ballāḷa ordered the van of his army to attack the enemy. The fight that ensued must have been very desperate, each party making frantic efforts to win the day<sup>4</sup>. At last the battle was decided

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 212.

<sup>2</sup> We conclude that these were Kadamba generals, for we have a Sahaṇi who was the commander-in-chief of the Kadamba army which fought against Vīra-Ballāḷa

<sup>3</sup> Cf ante p 142.

<sup>4</sup> M A R 1917 p 45

in favour of the invincible Hoysalas and the Kalachurya power was completely crushed.

This defeat of the Kalachuryas obviously helped the Chalukya Somēśvara IV in his attempts to restore his family to independence. The Kalachuryas had become very unpopular on account of their persecution of the newly founded Lingayat sect<sup>1</sup>. Moreover Bijjala's successors had not the capacity which he himself possessed. This probably gave the opportunity to the Chalukya partisans to come forward and publicly espouse their cause. We are told in a Hoysala record that the Kalachurya daṇḍanāyaka Bamma joined the Chalukyas and succeeded in seducing a considerable part of the Kalachurya forces which were under the command of his own father<sup>2</sup>. The latter was the loyal general of the Kalachuryas, Kāvaṇa<sup>3</sup>, who had commanded their troops on two previous occasions. The same Hoysala record also tells us that Bamma acted in contempt of his father<sup>4</sup>. This information is borne out by a Chalukya inscription which admits that Bamma secured for Somēśvara the position of Emperor<sup>5</sup>.

The Kabambas of Hāṅgal, always loyal to the Western Chalukya family, were only too glad to transfer their allegiance to Somēśvara IV<sup>6</sup>. An inscription of Kāma-dēva dated 1189 refers to Somēśvara as his overlord<sup>7</sup>. But the latter did not long exercise his suzerainty. New enemies, the Yādavas in the north and the Hoysalas in the south<sup>8</sup>, completely absorbed the whole of the Chalukya Empire, and the little suzerain power that was left to the Emperor was the one he retained over the hereditary territory of his powerful feudatories, the Kadambas of the Hāṅgal branch. It is unlikely that he survived for a long time the dissolution of the Empire, and with him the dynasty of the Western Chalukyas of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Wüth, *The Basava-Purana of the Lingayats*, J. B. B. R. A. S., IX, p. 68.

<sup>2</sup> I. A., II, p. 299.

<sup>3</sup> Fleet, P. S. & O. C. *Inscriptions*, No. 122.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> *Carn. Desa Inscriptions*, p. 37, referred to by Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 464.

<sup>6</sup> A viragal found at the Kapli Bhavi, Hangal, dated in the 2nd year of Somesvara (1181), shows that the latter had deputed Soyya to elicit homage from Kama-deva. Appendix, III, No. 13.

<sup>7</sup> E. C., VIII, Sk. 179.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties* p. 503- I A I p. 299



Kalyani, at least as far as history is concerned, came to an end. This is shown by an inscription of Kāma-dēva of about 1191 A. D. where he is for the first time called the Kadamba Chakravartti<sup>1</sup>. The Kadamba record of 1198 assumes the style of the imperial Chalukyas by beginning the grant with the words: "When Kadamba Kāma-dēva was ruling the kingdom of the world"<sup>2</sup>. This would also suggest that after the death of Somēśvara, Kāma-dēva reigned as an independent King, pending the issue of the contest for supremacy between the Yādavas and the Hoysaḷas. It was presumably during this period that Kāma-dēva strengthened the fortifications of Hāṅgal, in order to render them proof against any possible attack of his enemies from the south. To the same period should also be ascribed the mutilation of the Hoysaḷa crest twice perpetrated in the Tarakēśvara temple at Hāṅgal, a splendid monument in the Hoysaḷa style undoubtedly built during the Hoysaḷa occupation of this city<sup>3</sup>.

The contest for supremacy was at last decided in favour of the Hoysaḷas. The decisive victory of the latter over the Yādava King Billama in the battle of Lukkundi seems to have determined, at least temporarily, that the Hoysaḷas should be supreme in the southern provinces of the Dekkan. Thereafter Vīra-Ballāḷa turned to subdue the Kadambas of Hāṅgal, the hereditary enemies of his family.

A viragal of about 1195 refers to the battle of Udhare in the reign of the Kadamba Chakravartti Kāma-dēva, which we believe was fought between the Kadambas and the Hoysaḷas<sup>4</sup>. Udhare was apparently a fort of great strategical importance, which the Hoysaḷas always attacked whenever they invaded the Kadamba territory. It probably commanded the road to Hāṅgal; for Vīra-

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 439.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Sb, 478.

<sup>3</sup> When we visited Hangal in January, 1929, we noticed this mutilation. The sculpture in front of the vimana of the above temple has the head of Sala purposely chopped off. Another specimen of the same crest now over the entrance of the temple compound is so skilfully destroyed that the image of Sala could not be traced at all but for the sword carved on the mane of the tiger (?). Thus what once was the Hoysala crest appears now as the dynastic symbol of the Kadambas.

<sup>4</sup> E. C. VII Sb 439. This date seems to be more correct.

Ballāla is next seen besieging the Hangal fort<sup>1</sup>, perhaps after reducing Udhare. The viragals of A. D. 1196 at the Tarakēśvara temple at Hāngal state that the Hoysala monarch Vira-Ballāla III came and pitched his camp at Keregēri<sup>2</sup> and besieged the city. He was defeated and repulsed by Kāma-dēva's forces, under his general Sāhaṇi, who however was killed in the battle<sup>3</sup>. It also appears that Kāma-dēva drove the Hoysalas from the Udhare fort, as in 1203 they returned again and laid siege to the citadel<sup>4</sup>. But it is unlikely that they succeeded on this occasion. The inscriptions of this period (1203) in the Kōḍ taluqua, which represent Kāma-dēva as still fighting the Hoysalas<sup>5</sup>, pointedly indicate that he was then forcing the latter to evacuate the Kadamba territory and had driven them as far as Sātēnhaḷḷi in the Kōḍ taluqua<sup>6</sup>. It is evident from the viragals of 1207, 1208 and 1211 that by this time he had completely liberated the Hāngal Five Hundred and a considerable part of the Banavasi Twelve Thousand from the Hoysala molestations, and was himself laying waste the territory of the latter. The first two viragals might be taken to shew that before 1208 he had recovered all the territory as far south as Hāyava and Muvaḍi-biḍu in the Tavanandi hōbli, Sorab taluqua, in what is now known as the Mysore State.<sup>7</sup> By 1211 the whole of the Banavasi Twelve Thousand came into his possession and he penetrated still more southwards into the present Kadūr taluqua and occupied Bīraūr (Birūr). A viragal of 1211 records: "When the Kadamba-chakrēśvara Kāva-Dēva was ruling the Banavase Twelve Thousand kingdom in peace and wisdom, ... Ballāla-Dēva's raiders besieged Bīraūr in Kabbunālige-naḍu-nāḍ, and fought, Kancha Gavuḍa and others... attacking them at the moment, slew and gained the world of gods."<sup>8</sup> How was it possible

<sup>1</sup> Appendix, No. III, 14, 15.

<sup>2</sup> Camp near the tank on the west side of Hangal.

<sup>3</sup> Appendix, No. III, 16; *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, XXII, Dharwar, p. 724; Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 563. Dr. Fleet wrongly reads Keregēri as Anekere.

<sup>4</sup> *E. C.*, VII, Sk, 244.

<sup>5</sup> *Carn. Desa Inscriptions*, II, pp. 309, 322, 323, referred to by Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 563.

<sup>6</sup> In the face of this unimpeachable epigraphical evidence, Dr. Fleet's statement that the Kadambas were soon after 1196 A. D. completely subjugated by Vira-Ballala, who annexed their territory, seems to have no foundation whatsoever.

<sup>7</sup> *E. C.* VIII Sb 171 307

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid* Sb 59

for Kāma-dēva to prevail so successfully against this powerful Hoysaḷa King? The obvious reason for this seems to be that Vīra-Ballāḷa being at this time preoccupied with wars against the Yādavas in the north, Kāma-dēva took advantage of his absence and occupied the Hoysaḷa territory. It is also possible that the Hoysaḷa power had suffered considerable damage at this period, for the constant struggle with the Yādavas had obviously a deleterious effect upon them, which satisfactorily explains how Kāma-dēva could occupy an important citadel in the very heart of the Hoysaḷa Empire. Moreover Vīra-Ballāḷa was now much advanced in age and had lost the juvenile vigour that had always attended his early expeditions. It is no wonder therefore if before long Kāma-dēva completely retrieved the losses he might have sustained at the beginning of his rule.

The reign of Kāma-dēva was thus a crescendo of successes. It may be safely affirmed that in him the great Hoysaḷa King Vīra-Ballāḷa met his equal. It is true indeed that Kāma-dēva failed at the beginning to stem the tide of Hoysaḷa aggression. But unlike his predecessors, he did not allow them to occupy for a moment the royal city of Hāṅgaḷ. He baulked them in their attempt to besiege the city and drove them as far as the southern frontier of Hāṅgaḷ. Then he forced them to evacuate the whole of the Banavasi Twelve Thousand, which they had probably held since their decisive victory over the Kaḷachuryas in 1188. Furthermore he retaliated by leading predatory expeditions into the Hoysaḷa kingdom and by conquering and annexing their territory till Bīraūr (Bīrūr). After this he sent his conquering armies in all directions to impose his suzerainty on the neighbouring kings. An inscription of 1199 tells us that he subjugated the Male and the Tuḷu countries, the Konkan and the Western Ghats<sup>1</sup>. These were the territories ruled respectively by the Śāntaras, the Ālupas and the Goa Kadambas, and the inscriptions of these rulers clearly show that they did acknowledge the overlordship of Kāma-dēva<sup>2</sup>.

Kāma-dēva's victorious reign extended over a long period of forty years. Having come to the throne in 1180,<sup>3</sup> his reign may be

<sup>1</sup> *Carn. Desa Inscriptions*, II, p. 605, referred to by Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 563.

<sup>2</sup> Appendix, No. III, 5; *E. C.*, VIII, Sb, 188.

<sup>3</sup> *E. C.*, VIII, Sb, 448. This inscription is dated 1193, which was his 13th regnal year

regarded as a continuous struggle of half a century for the maintenance of the Kadamba independence against the Hoysala aggressors. He died in 1217<sup>1</sup> having fully realised his plans and established on a stable footing the power of the Kadambas, which lasted for another hundred years. The impression he left on the minds of his subjects is inferred from one of the viragals above referred to, which gives the following glowing description of his attributes: "He who was a jewel in the ocean of the family of Mayūravarmma, he who was a desire yielding gem to (good) men, he who was eminent for his enterprises, he who was the very pleasing vasanta, he who offers gifts (alms) to mendicants, he who was the sun to the lotus of the family of the Kadambas, he who was terrific in battles, he who was Bhīma in respect of the power of his arms, he who was Vainatēya (the king of birds) to the serpents of the intoxicated tributaries, he who was speaking the truth only, he who was the adamantine rampart to those who seek his shelter"<sup>2</sup>.

The inscriptions give Kētala-dēvi<sup>3</sup> or Kāḷala-dēvi<sup>4</sup> as the name of his consort.

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 180. A. D. 1224 is given as the 6th year of the reign of Malli-deva, who succeeded Kāma-deva. Cf. *Carn. Desa Inscriptions*, II, pp. 600, 601, 603, 604, referred to by Fleet, *Kanurese Dynasties*, p. 594.

<sup>2</sup> Appendix, No. III, 15.

<sup>3</sup> Fleet, o. c., p. 563.

<sup>4</sup> E. C., VIII, Sk, 179.

## CHAPTER XVI

### Malli-deva

**M**alli-dēva was probably the son of Kāma-dēva. He ascended the throne in 1217, and maintained for the most part his position as an independent King. His reign was on the whole undisturbed by wars. His contemporaries on the Hoysala throne were Narasiṃha II, and after him Vīra-Sōmēśvara, both of whom were, if not weak, at least not so warlike as their illustrious predecessors Viṣṇuvardhana and Vīra-Ballāla II. It is also possible that the people had become tired of war which had been incessantly waged for well nigh a century.

One of the immediate results of this protracted warfare was that brigandage and lawlessness grew in the country almost unchecked. We need scarcely say that the hostile armies marching about the kingdom laid waste the fields and severely crippled the agricultural industry. The people who were thereby thrown out of employment naturally took to the familiar resources of rapine and plunder.

This was the state of affairs obtaining in the kingdom when Malli-dēvarasa succeeded to the throne of Hāṅgal, and evidently it took some time for this monarch to restore normal order in the kingdom. Inscriptions are abounding in the country which recount the outrages committed by the brigands, their victims often including the Government officials. "When the Idugōḍ-heggaḍe Mādeya's son Binavaṇa", says one of the viragals of 1219, "was in Geṇḍavaṇa, going from Kuppāṭūr, like a thunderbolt a band of robbers fell upon him in the Aḷeya-haḷḷa, and those who were with him fled, on which Binavaṇa being greatly enraged attacked them like Antaka. But the robbers though attacked, were enraged and did not go, but stood and rushed upon him, while he, amid celestial songs of victory like a Garuda (or kite) which sees the

Nagas (or serpents) slew them. Fighting till Java (or Yama) was filled he was borne away in Basavali in a car to Indra's city by the celestial nymphs.<sup>1</sup> Another viragal dated 1220 records that Beḷuvage Marā-Gavuḍa's son Rāma-gauḍa being attacked by robbers, fought with them and gained the world of gods<sup>2</sup>. But after a few years of peaceful rule under Malli-dēva, the people assured of protection from external enemies, soon returned to their usual occupations and brigandage gradually stopped. This is attested by an early inscription of this monarch which emphasises that "the Kādamba-chakravartti Malli-Dēvarasa was ruling a peaceful kingdom"<sup>3</sup>.

During the reign of Malli-dēva there arose a new dynasty in Tuḷuva that threatened to deprive the Kadambas of this newly conquered province. Tuḷuva, it will be remembered, was the hereditary province of the Ālupa kings, who had been brought to submission by Kāma-dēva, the King of the Kadambas, and had become their feudatories. An inscription of this period dwelling on the activities of this new dynasty observes:—

"When, with all titles, the Kādamba-chakravartti Malli-Dēvarasa was ruling a peaceful kingdom:—...when Sāreya-Bhairava-Nāyaka, was greatly slaying(?) the Āḷvas in battle, the Āḷuva San-kaya-Nāyaka slew the whole of Bīreya-Dēva's force. So that both armies applauded, he fought in the plain of Birusa, and in Basavali was united to the celestial nymphs, who bore him away in a celestial car"<sup>4</sup>.

It may be inferred from this record that Sāreya-Bhairava-Nāyaka who was evidently the head of the new dynasty, attempted at this time to overthrow the Āḷuva family, the constituted authority in the province, and carve for himself an independent kingdom. From the name Bhairava we may conclude that this Sāreya-Bhairava was one of the Śāntara chieftains of Kārkaḷa. Possibly this was the old family of the Śāntaras, who finding it impossible to retain their power in the struggle for supremacy that was being carried on for a century round their original home migrated westwards and attempted to wrest the power from the Āḷuva rulers.

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 224.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Sb, 227.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Sb, 188.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> E. C. VIII Sb 188

We have said above, that the immediate successors of the Hoysaḷa King Vīra-Ballāḷa were not as successful as their illustrious predecessor. The Yādavas, on the other hand, flourished at this time under the rule of a capable monarch who increased their power to a very large extent. This King was Siṅghaṇa, the son of Jaitugi I. He had already made the Hoysaḷas taste the bitter fruits of defeat in the reign of Vīra-Ballāḷa. The Gadag inscription of 1213<sup>1</sup> and the Paithan grant<sup>2</sup>, which speaks of him as overthrowing Ballāḷa, make it abundantly clear that Siṅghaṇa succeeded in recovering from Vīra-Ballāḷa all the territory that lay south of the Malaprabhā and the Kṛishṇa. His efforts were crowned with still greater success in the following two years. His record of 1215 at Belagrāma shews that he had conquered all the territories occupied by the Hoysaḷas in the neighbourhood of that city<sup>3</sup>. We are also told that this year he appointed the mahāpradhāna, sarvādhikāri and mahāparamaviśvāsi (most confidential agent) Māyī-dēvapaṇḍita, as the governor of Banavasi, and under him a certain Hemmeyeranāyaka as *sunḱādhikāri* or tax-collector of the Banavasi province<sup>4</sup>. Some years later in 1226 Hemmeyeranāyaka was promoted to the governorship of the Halasige Twelve Thousand<sup>5</sup>.

Though the Yādavas had appointed their governor for collecting the imperial dues from the Kadamba kingdom, it is not likely that the Kadambas acknowledged the supremacy of the Yādavas at this period. As a matter of fact the Kadamba inscriptions of this period do not at all refer to any king as the overlord of Malli-dēva. On the contrary all these records invariably style him 'the Kadamba Chakravartti', and one of them even mentions his political satellites, the Ālupas.

But it was not possible for the Kadambas to resist for a long time the attempts of the powerful Yādavas at establishing their hegemony over the Dekkan. They submitted to them some time about A. D. 1239; for a record of this year for the first time describes Malli-dēva as a mahāmaṇḍalēśvara. Dr. Fleet who refers to this inscription does not specify whose feudatory he was<sup>6</sup>. Never-

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 524.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., XIV, p. 314.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 523.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Ibid. p. 524

theless it is plain that he became the subordinate of the Yādava King Siṅghaṇa, who probably subdued him by force of arms. Indeed a viragal of 1239 seems to allude to a Yādava-Kadamba war, when it records that Siṅghaṇa-dēva's (Siṅghaṇa's) nāyakas came with 30,000 horse and captured the hill fortress of Gutti, burnt the nād, "and marched along with their booty openly displayed"<sup>1</sup>. In another inscription of the preceding year 1238, inside the Kadambēśvara temple at Ratihaḷḷi, Siṅghaṇa is being called 'Kadambari', viz. 'the enemy of the Kadambas'<sup>2</sup>. Such inscription evidently supposes the conquest of Ratihaḷḷi—a fortified town in the heart of the Kadamba country—by the Yādava King. The Yādavas probably commenced their attacks on the Kadambas in 1231, for we learn from a viragal of this year that the nāyakas of Siṅghaṇa-dēva's house, Siṃha-Nāyaka and Aṅkadēva-Nāyaka, raided Siḍani in Eḍenād, which formed part of the Kadamba dominions, and carried away prisoners and live stock<sup>3</sup>. It appears from this that the fall of the important fortress of Gutti in 1239 marked the final submission of Malli-dēva to the Yādavas, for if we are to believe an inscription of Kīrtti-deva dated 1176, Gutti was one of the *rājadhānis* of the Kadambas, as the record avers that he was ruling at Chandragutti as his capital<sup>4</sup>.

Malli-dēva also came into hostile contact with the Hoysaḷas. A memorial tablet of the year 1143 observes that having raised a great army the Hoysaḷa King invaded Māhaḷige, i. e. Maḷali in the Sagar taluqua, and that the great hero Hākara, who was probably in charge of that division of the Kadamba kingdom, proceeded against the enemy, and "overthrowing the army of elephants, horses, chariots and foot-soldiers, putting the force to flight, gained the world of gods"<sup>5</sup>. The Hoysaḷa King mentioned here was Sōmēśvara. It is possible to conclude in the light of the subsequent history of the period that the Kadambas sustained a severe defeat on this occasion which resulted in the loss of some of their territories. These territories, as we shall see presently, were restored to the Kadambas by the Yādava general Tikkamma, in the reign of Malli-dēva's son Kāva-dēva.

Malli-dēva lived for a few years more. Dr. Fleet mentions two inscriptions of this sovereign dated respectively in A. D. 1241 and 1252,<sup>6</sup> the latter of which probably marks his last date.

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VII, Sb, 319.    <sup>2</sup> Appendix, No. III, 20.    <sup>3</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 221

<sup>4</sup> M. A. R. 1923, p 121 No 125    <sup>5</sup> E. C. VIII Sa 58.

<sup>6</sup> Fleet *Kanarese Dy* p 564.



## CHAPTER XVII

### Rama-devarasa

**R**āma-dēvarasa seems to have been the successor of Malli-dēva. It is not expressly mentioned in the records whether he was a scion of the Kadamba family. This fact however becomes manifest when we examine his titles. He bears the specific *birudas* of the Kadamba kings such as 'the boon lord of Banavāsi-pura', and the 'Jayanti-Madhukēśvara'<sup>1</sup>, which do not leave a shadow of doubt as to his identity. He was probably a brother of Malli-dēva and succeeded him, as the latter's son was a minor. But he does not seem to have survived Malli-dēva very long. We may suppose that he died in or about A. D. 1260, whereupon his nephew Kāva-dēva ascended the throne of Hāngal. That the latter became King at a young age is obvious from the fact that he ruled for a very long period extending over half a century, as it will be seen in the next chapter.

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<sup>1</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 517; M. A. R., 1927, p. 124, No. 137.

## Kava-deva

**K**āva-dēva succeeded Rāma-dēvarasa as the King of the Hāṅgal and the Banavasi Provinces. He probably came to the throne in or about A. D. 1260. The epigraphical records do not afford any clue to determine the relationship between these rulers. But as we have suggested above Kāva-dēva was probably a nephew of Rāma-dēvarasa and son of Malli-dēva. It is clear from his inscriptions that Kāva-dēva was also related to the Chalukya family. Some of his records give him all the titles borne by the Chalukya Emperors, such as ಶ್ರೀಪೃಥ್ವಿವಲ್ಲಭ ಮಹಾರಾಜಾಧಿರಾಜ ಪರಮಭಟ್ಟಾರಕ ಸತ್ಯಾಶ್ರಯ ಕುಲತೀರ್ಥ, ನಿಗಲಂಕಮಲ್ಲ (favourite of the world the great King, the supreme King, the most worshipful one, the glory of the family of Satyāśraya and Nigalaṅka-malla)<sup>1</sup>. We may infer from this that his mother was a Chalukya princess whose family appears to have been restored at this time to a part of their hereditary kingdom<sup>2</sup>.

Kāva-dēva, it is likely, joined the Yādava King in his war against the Hoysaḷas in 1276. We are told in the Hoysaḷa records that with the assistance of Iruṅguna and other powerful chiefs, Sāluva Tikkama, the general of the Yādavas, invaded the Hoysaḷa territory<sup>3</sup>. This information is fully borne out by the Yādava *śilā-śāsaṇa* of 1277 at Harihara, which asserts that Tikkama Dēva Rāya in an expedition to the south captured the city of Dōrasamudra<sup>4</sup>. It is possible that one of these powerful chiefs who are said to have

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 302; Sa, 32.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Le Grand Jacob, *Observations on the three Copperplate Charters*, J. B. B. R. A. S., IV, p. 108.

<sup>3</sup> E. C., V, Bl, 164, 165.

<sup>4</sup> Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions* p 47

joined Tikkama in the Hoysala record, was Kāva-dēva. In fact the above-mentioned Harihara inscription confirms our view when it calls the Yādava general "the establisher of the Kadamba king", and "disgracer of the Hoysala king." This may be held to imply that Kāva-dēva rendered material assistance to Tikkama in his campaign against the Hoysalas, and was rewarded by the former with the restoration of the Kadamba territories, which they had lost in the previous reign. This seems to be the only tangible result of the expedition of Tikkama against the Hoysalas. He reached Dōrasamudra and sacked the city, but it is evident that he did not occupy it for long. The Harihara grant which is dated 1277 was issued on his return journey<sup>1</sup>. On the other hand the Hoysala inscriptions claim a decisive victory on the 25th April 1276, for Narasiṃha III over the Yādava general Tikkama. They maintain that the latter was completely routed at Beḷavāḍi and driven beyond Dummi with great slaughter<sup>2</sup>. It is obvious from these conflicting statements that neither of the versions expresses the whole truth. Each tries to exaggerate the advantages gained by its party and suppresses the reverses. The Hoysala epigraphs do not speak about the sack of their capital Dōrasamudra, and likewise the Yādava records are silent on the defeat of Tikkama at Beḷavāḍi. Nevertheless there seems to be some ground for believing that Tikkama did plunder the city of Dōrasamudra. For we know that the Hoysala power had been considerably weakened by the division of their territories, since the death of Sōmēśvara III<sup>3</sup>. The defeat of Tikkama can also be easily accounted for. The Yādavas being invaders obviously lacked the patriotic vigour of the Hoysalas who were fighting against foreign aggression. Moreover Tikkama was fighting at a great distance from the base, while the Hoysalas were fighting in their own country. These and several other causes must have contributed to the success of the Hoysalas, in driving out the invader from their kingdom. But it is plain that in spite of this success they had to surrender to the Yādavas the territories they had conquered from the Kadambas<sup>4</sup>. These territories, as has already been noted, were restored to the Kadamba King Kāva-dēva. A viragal assigned to A. D. 1280 seems to hint at this fact, when it states that "the mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Vīra-Kāva-dēvarasa was ruling a settled kingdom"<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 47. <sup>2</sup> E. C., V, BI, 164, 165.

<sup>3</sup> Rice *Mysore and Coorg* p 106

<sup>4</sup> Rice *Mysore Inscriptions* p. 47

<sup>5</sup> E. C. VIII Sb 190

The same viragal informs us that under the orders of Kalla veggade, the great minister of Kāva-dēva, a certain "Jalla-Sāraya slew the opposing king and gained the world of gods"<sup>1</sup>. But it is not possible at this stage of our investigations to identify the king who opposed Kāva-dēva.

The next important event in the reign of Kāva-dēva was the renewal of the Hoysaḷa-Kadamba conflict by Vīra-Ballāḷa III, the successor of Narasiṃha III. This happened about the year 1300 after the defeat of the Yādavas by Alla-ud-din in 1294<sup>2</sup>. Vīra-Ballāḷa had by this time composed the differences existing between the two rival Hoysaḷa kingdoms and had united all the territories under his rule. After this he decided to avail himself of the weakness of the Yādavas and to make a bid for the suzerainty over the Dekkan. Accordingly in 1199 he set out on an expedition of conquest and subdued Hosagunḍa, "capturing Kōṭi-Nāyaka and carrying off his elephant"<sup>3</sup>. The following year (1300) he tried to force his overlordship on Kāva-dēva by claiming tribute from the latter's minister Gangeya-Sāhaṇi. On his refusal to pay, he overran the Banavasi Twelve Thousand, and while marching on Hāṅgal he encamped at Sirsi and was plundering Kaḍabaḷalu. It may be inferred from the viragal that in order to oppose the aggressive activities of the Hoysaḷas the Kadamba Chakravartti Kāva-dēva concluded a defensive alliance with the Chalukya King, probably Vētugi-dēva or his son Sōma-dēva, and the united forces marched to Sirsi to give battle to Ballāḷa. The same viragal records that Jagadaḷa Gangeya Sāhaṇi ordered Madi-gauḍa, who probably led the van, to charge the enemy. The latter pierced through the enemy's line of horse and "destroying them, broke Ballāḷa-dēva's army, and running, on reaching the kulugāra hiḷḷa, stabbing the men and horses, throwing them down and cutting them up, slew, distinguished himself and saying, 'Let Gangeya Sāhaṇi live, (the god) Rāmanāda of Baradavaḷli is my refuge,' gained the world of gods"<sup>4</sup>.

The record however does not specify the result of this battle. But the fact that Kāva-dēva issued grants in the Banavasi Twelve Thousand after this fight till 1312<sup>5</sup>, proves that Vīra-Ballāḷa's

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Ferishta-Briggs, I, p. 304-10.

<sup>3</sup> E. C., VIII, Sa, 45.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. The latter record, which evidently refers to the same battle, nevertheless gives the date as 1303 A. D. This is not correct; the engraver probably mentioned by mistake the date of erecting the stone in memory of the hero for the actual date of the battle.

<sup>5</sup> E. C. VIII Sa 32; Sb 59.

attempt to subdue the Kadambas was utterly frustrated by the united efforts of the Kadamba and the Chalukya kings. The battle of Sirsi may therefore be regarded as having dealt a death-blow to Vira-Ballāḷa's dreams of reviving the ancient glories of the Hoysala Empire.

Kāma-dēva, though he succeeded in maintaining his independence, nevertheless lost some of his possessions, in fact the whole of the southern portion of the Banavasi Twelve Thousand as a result of the Hoysala encroachments. This we infer from the viragal of 1300, above referred to, which confers on Vira-Ballāḷa all the titles that usually accompany the Hoysala monarchs, and narrates some of his exploits, such as the defeat and the final restoration of the Pāṇḍya king. This proves that at the time when the memorial tablet was erected, the Hoysalas were already in possession of the south of the Banavasi province till Talaguppe hōbli, in what is now known as the Sagar taluqua where the inscription is found<sup>1</sup>. The year 1300, it should be carefully noted, refers to the battle of Sirsi and not to the date, when this viragal was raised, which event probably took place a year or two later. It follows therefore that Vira-Ballāḷa was given his usual designation for the simple reason that he was then the acknowledged ruler of these territories<sup>2</sup>.

Kāva-dēva, it would seem from the Kadamba inscription of 1307, soon recovered his lost dominions. This record as it is found in the Sagar hōbli (which is much more to the south than that of Talaguppe), suggests that Vira-Ballāḷa was forced by Kāva-dēva and his allies to withdraw from the Kadamba territory and confine his rule to his own kingdom<sup>3</sup>.

It seems possible that in their struggle against the Hoysalas, the Kadambas were helped by their Yādava overlords, who had probably retrieved by this time the losses they had sus-

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 45 (Kanarese original).

<sup>2</sup> It may be urged on the other hand that Kava-deva accepted the overlordship of the Hoysalas; and accordingly when this viragal was set up, Vira-Ballala had to be mentioned with his birudas, for the reason that he was Kava-deva's liege-lord, in keeping with the general rule followed in all the inscriptions of the feudatory rulers. This objection would have indeed held water but for the two Kadamba inscriptions dated respectively in 1307 and 1312, which invest Kava-deva with full imperial titles and do not contain the least hint of the recognition of the Hoysala supremacy. Cf. E. C., VIII, Sa, 32; Sb, 59

<sup>3</sup> E. C., VIII, Sa, 32.

tained in 1294. As a matter of fact the Hoysala inscription of 1305 speaks of Vira Ballala III as marching against the Yadava Chakravartti who had opened hostilities against the Hoysalas and had determined to capture their King<sup>1</sup>. The Kadambas no doubt profited by these warlike activities of the Yādavas, but the latter had soon to abandon the Dekkan for good on account of a fresh invasion of their capital Dēvagiri by Mallik Kafur, the general of the Delhi Sultan Alla-ud-din. Ferishta informs us that on this occasion Rāma-dēva, the Yādava King, found himself unequal to oppose the Muhammadan troops. This was evidently because his army was absent in Kaṛṇāṭaka fighting the Hoysalas. Hence leaving his son in the fort he advanced with presents to meet the general in order to settle the terms of peace. Mallik Kafur wrote an account of his expedition, and sent it to Alla-ud-din; and some time after he accompanied Rāma-dēva to Delhi, with rich presents and seventeen elephants to pay his respects to the Sultan<sup>2</sup>. We may infer from this that the Yādavas lost much of their power and consequently they could no longer exercise their hold on their feudatories. This is confirmed by the Kadamba inscription of 1307, above referred to, which by giving imperial titles to Kāva-dēva, tacitly implies that he asserted his independence, besides defeating the efforts of Vira-Ballāḷa to deprive him of his kingdom.

But the Kadamba power was also shaken by the invasion of Mallik Kafur to the south. In A. H. 710 (A. D. 1310), Ferishta observes, Alla-ud-din deputed Mallik Kafur and Khwaja Hajī with a great army to reduce Dwara Samudra (Dōrasamudra) and Maabir in the Deccan. Leaving some officers with part of the army at Peitun, on the Gōdāvari, to overcome the Yādava King, Mallik Kafur continued his march to the south. On crossing the Yādava frontier he began to lay waste the country and eventually reached the seacoast, after three month's march from Delhi. During a great part of this time "they were opposed by the Hindoos, whose countries they traversed. Among others they engaged Bilal Dew, Raja of the Carnatic and defeating him, took him prisoner, and ravaged his territory"<sup>3</sup>. It is significant to notice that Mallik Kafur was attacked by the Hindus before his invasion of Dōrasamudra. This might lead us to conclude that on his way to the latter place

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VIII, Sa, 156.

<sup>2</sup> Ferishta-Briggs, I, p. 369.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid p 373

he passed through or near Hāṅgal, where his passage was disputed by the Kadambas. It is likely that a battle was fought in which the Muhammadans were victorious, and they marched on Dōrasamudra, which held out attractions of rich plunder. Thus it was that the selfish policy of self-aggrandizement that was so closely followed by Vīra-Ballāḷa redounded to his own ruin along with that of the other south Indian dynasties. Divided by internal dissensions, the Hindus failed to combine their forces and to offer an united front to the Muhammadan invader. Vīra-Ballāḷa, who was largely responsible for these intestine feuds, paid a heavy penalty for his imprudent conduct. He was completely vanquished by Mallik Kafur and was forced to capitulate to the Muhammadans.

The Kadambas seem to have slowly revived their power after their defeat by Mallik Kafur. But by this time the Hoysaḷas also forced their way up and once again started their encroachments. Before 1320 they conquered the southern part of the Banavasi Twelve Thousand till the Talaguppe hōbli in the Sagar taluqua<sup>1</sup>. It is not improbable that by 1324 they also occupied Gutti. But we do not notice any further encroachments on the part of the Hoysaḷas; and apparently the Kadambas retained the rest of this province as well as the Hāṅgal Five Hundred. The possible reason for this sudden stop of operations in the west was that in 1326 an expedition sent by Muhammad II, of the house of Tughlak, completely defeated Vīra-Ballāḷa and demolished the city of Dōrasamudra<sup>2</sup>.

The Hoysaḷa kingdom once again crippled evidently took a long time to revive and regain its former power. But that unfortunate incident was productive of one good result inasmuch as it made Vīra-Ballāḷa see the necessity of changing his policy. Instead of wasting his energies in fighting with his neighbours, he now rightly determined to strengthen his frontier defences against the more formidable enemy from the north. Ferishta tells us that Vīra-Ballāḷa accordingly built a strong city on the frontier of his kingdom and named it Beejanaggar (Vijayanagara) after his son Beeja (Vijaya). He then mustered a strong force and placed it under the command of Krishn Naig (Kṛishṇa Nāyaka), instructing

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VIII, Sa, 135 (Kanarese original).

<sup>2</sup> Ziaud dīn Barnī, *Tarīk-i Firoz Shāhī*, Elliot, III, p. 236. Cf. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 107; Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *South India and her dan Invaders* p. 136.

him to proceed against Warangal. Kṛishṇa Nāyaka reduced Warangal, and compelled Imaḍ-ul-Mulk, the governor, to retreat to Dowlatabad. Ballāḷa-dēva and Kṛishṇa Nāyaka, continues Ferishta, concluded a defensive alliance with the Rāja of Maabir who was formerly a tributary "to the government of the Carnatic"<sup>1</sup>, i. e. the Hoysala King. This Rāja of Maabir—which evidently means the king of the west coast<sup>2</sup>—seems to have been no other than the Kadamba King of Goa, who had just then revived the power of their family. For at the time which we are speaking about, the Goa Kadambas were the only powerful ruling family in the west, and they bore the title of the "lord of the Western Ocean"<sup>3</sup>. Furthermore, the statement of Ferishta that the kings of Maabir were once the tributaries of the Hoysalas, perfectly agrees with the information furnished by the records that Vira-Ballāḷa II levied tribute from the Goa Kadamba King Vijayāditya II<sup>4</sup>. To proceed with our narrative, the confederate Hindus siezed the country occupied by the Muhammadans in the Dekkan, and expelled them so that, concludes Ferishta, "within a few months Mahomed Toghluk had no possessions in that quarter except Dowlutabad"<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Ferishta-Briggs, I, p. 427.

<sup>2</sup> The Muhammadans of India in common with the Arabs called all the west coast of India Maabir, or the landing place, from their making it the first land after they leave Arabia. In a narrower sense, this term was probably applied to the coast of Konkan, for the reason that there was at this time considerable commercial intercourse between Goa and Arabia, as will be seen in a later chapter. The same country is called Ma'bar—the real Arabic word, of which Maabir seems to be a corrupted form—by Ziaud din Barni, I. c.

<sup>3</sup> Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 572. The Kadambas of Hangal do not seem to have joined this confederacy and it was probably for this reason that they were attacked in 1347 by Marapa, who had been entrusted by Vira-Ballala III with the defence of the Northern frontier, and who along with his brothers succeeded to the government of Karnataka after the downfall of the Hoysala dynasty. *E. C.*, VIII, Sb, 375. Cf. note 5 below.

<sup>4</sup> Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 119. Cf. *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, IX, p. 231. Our supposition that the king of Maabir was the Kadamba King of Goa is further confirmed by the fact that at the conclusion of the first expedition under Mallik Kafur, the latter built a mosque at Rameswar (Ferishta-Briggs, I, pp. 373-374), which Mr. Briggs seems to identify with Cabo de Rama in Salsette, Goa. He says: "The Rameswar here alluded to must be the point of that name in Canara, south of Goa and not that at 'Adam's Bridge', on the Gulf of Manar'".

Ferishta-Briggs I. c. It seems that the northern frontier was at this time



After obtaining this victory over the Delhi Mussulmans and having fortified the northern boundaries of his kingdom, Ballāḷa III turned his arms against the Muhammadans of the south. Ibn Batuta affirms that this monarch encroached on the territory of the Sultan of Madura and laid siege to the city of Cobban for six months. At the end of this period the Muhammadans being attacked on all sides by the Hindus made a desperate attempt to repulse the enemy. They attacked them unawares when the latter were enjoying their siesta. The *coup de main* succeeded; Ballāḷa-dēva's army was completely vanquished and the King himself was taken prisoner. The Muhammadans were determined to exterminate the enemy of their race, and not even the promise of fabulous riches could make them derogate from the object of their attack. The King was flayed alive and his skin was stuffed with straw and suspended from the walls of the city<sup>1</sup>.

The death of Vīra-Ballāḷa was an irretrievable loss to the Hoysaḷas, and practically marked the end of the Hoysaḷa dynasty. Vīra-Ballāḷa IV, the son of the murdered King, wore the crown for two or three years, and the power of the Hoysaḷas soon melted away.

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entrusted to the care of Harihara I of Vijayanagara and his brothers.  
Cf. Heras, *Beginnings of Vijayanagara History*, pp. 93-101.

<sup>1</sup> Defremery-Sanguinetti, *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, IV, pp. 195-198.

## Purandara-Raya

ALL these momentous events, recorded in the last chapter, were crowded within such a brief span of fifteen years that it does not seem improbable that the Kadambas were all the while enjoying the blessings of peace. But the end of the Kadambas was not far removed from that of the Hoysaḷas. Though the ruling dynasty fell, the organisation of the Empire they had left was too strong for the disrupting forces to work out their normal results. We have said above that the defence of the northern frontier was entrusted to Harihara and his brothers. These trustees now came forward as the successors of the Hoysaḷa Emperors and carried on the government in the same way as before. In 1347 Mārāpa, one of the brothers of Harihara, started on an expedition of conquest to the west. An inscription of this year says that when Mārāpa was proceeding to Gōkarṇa, he encountered the Kadamba King "surrounded like Śakra by an army composed of elephants, horsemen and foot-soldiers, and defeating him in battle . . . came to that place of leisure"<sup>1</sup>. The inscription does not mention the name of this King. However he seems to have been known as Purandara-Rāya, who is said in an epigraph of the Shimoga taluqua to have made a grant to Vidyāśankara or Vijaya-Śankara-Bhārati-guru<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 375.

<sup>2</sup> E. C., VII, Sh, 79. This inscription does not seem genuine, not only because the date appears to be 1154 while speaking of Harihara I of Vijayanagara, but also because of the use of the word Vidyānagara instead of Vijayanagara. Cf. Heras, *Beginnings of Vijayanagara History*, pp. 19-35. Yet the fact of its fabrication proves the historicity of Purandara-Raya. The fabricators of this inscription wanted to give all possible appearance of truth to the document. Hence the persons named were to be historical personages. Otherwise they could not obtain the effects intended.

This person was the *Jagat guru* of the Śringeri maṭha from 1228 to 1333<sup>1</sup>. Hence Purandara-Rāya who was his contemporary, was also the contemporary of Mārāpa. Moreover Harihara I, the first Vijayanagara King, is reported in the same record to have renewed the grant made by the Kadamba Purandara-Rāya. This would imply that Harihara was considered to be a successor of Purandara-Rāya; and indeed after the defeat of the Kadamba King by Mārāpa, Harihara very likely took possession of the Kadamba territory.

Purandara-Rāya is described in the above inscription from the Shimoga taluqua as "an ornament of the Kadamba-kula". From the same record it also appears that he bore the name of Kadambarsa. Another record from the same taluqua associates him with the government of Sāmantadurga and Banavasi, and confers on him the title of Mahārāja<sup>2</sup>.

The conquest of Purandara-Rāya closes the last chapter in the glorious history of the Hāngal Kadambas. For ten long centuries interspersed with glorious and memorable events, the Kadambas had held the field victorious in the Dekkan. The defeat of the Kadamba King by Mārāpa and the probable acquisition of his territory by the sons of Saṅgama terminated a victorious dynasty with the absorption of its territories by the newly founded Vijayanagara Empire<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Rice, *Mysore*, I, p. 380.

<sup>2</sup> E. C, VII, Sh, 80. For the same reasons as mentioned above, this inscription is also to be considered not genuine. Besides it is for the first time that a copper-plate grant is signed by a Kadamba King, a fact which further confirms our suspicion. This seems to be the custom of the Vijayanagara Emperors. Hence the grant seems to have been fabricated in later days.

<sup>3</sup> Nikitin, the mediaeval Russian traveller, who was in India towards the close of the first Vijayanagara dynasty, speaks of the "Hindoo Sultan Kadam", who resided at Bichenegher (Vijayanagara). Nikitin, *India in the Fifteenth Century*, p. 29 (Hakluyt Society). From this statement Mr. Sewell thought that Nikitin favoured the view that the Vijayanagara rulers "belonged to the old royal house of the Kadambas of Banavase". Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 22. Several years before, Mr. Lewis Rice also had advanced the theory that the Sangama family were connected with the Kadambas. Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. XXVI. But there seems to be no epigraphical evidence to support this view. Rev. Taylor, *Oriental Manuscripts*, II, p. 67, records the tradition mentioning the Kadamba prince Sankara-deva in the S. S. 1258 or A. D. 1335. We have no epigraphical evidence as regards this King. He was perhaps immediately related to Purandara Raya, though we do not dare to affirm that he was his son for the dates of Rev Tay or do not trustworthy

## Origin of the Dynasty

**T**hough the authority of the Kadambas was considerably undermined by the Chalukya conquerors, their power, it would appear, was not completely eclipsed. They still retained considerable influence in the period of their political obscurity and maintained the prestige of being one of the foremost families in Kārnāṭaka. As in the days of their ascendancy they continued to intermarry with other royal families still ruling in the country. Thus the Vēlūrpālayam plates affirm that the consort of the Pallava King Dantivarmma, who ruled in the 8th century, was Aggaḷanimmatr who is called "a crest jewel of the Kadamba family"<sup>1</sup>. So an inscription of the 9th century tells us that Dēvabbarasi, the crowned Queen of the Nolamba King Mahēndra, was of Kadamba extraction<sup>2</sup>. Again the insurrection of the Kadambas of Banavasi in the 10th century, shows that they were as influential then as they were in the 9th century; and though they were defeated and the rebellion collapsed, the Chalukyas regarded them as a power not to be neglected. It is no wonder, therefore, that the Chalukyas made common cause with them and with their assistance brought about the overthrow of the Rāshtrakūṭas.

That the progenitors of the Goa Kadambas were also at this time sufficiently powerful is confirmed by the Marcella plates of Shashtha-dēva<sup>3</sup>, which by recording the achievements of these chiefs before they established themselves as feudatories of the Chalukyas, show that they were men of consequence. The earliest of these chieftains according to this document, is Kantakāchārya, about whom it avers that "his fame like endowed kings went even beyond the seven seas"; that he had installed many distress-

<sup>1</sup> S. I. I, II, part 5, p. 511.

<sup>2</sup> E C X Mb 50

<sup>3</sup> Appendix, III, No 1

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<sup>3</sup> Appendix, III No 1

ed kings and that he was well known for his wealth and heroism. Nagavarmma his son and successor was learned in the Vedas and political science and deserved praise even from kings. Guhalla-dēva I, who succeeded Nāgavarmma, seems to have enjoyed greater power than was ever exercised either by his father or his grand-father. The record compares him to Arjuna, and as if by way of illustrating his valour says that he killed a tiger with his bare fists. The record proceeds: "He who had surpassed even the powers of the god Indra, by his spreading fame, protected the earth by rendering it free from the fear of anybody and bringing it under his royal umbrella. He was an ally of the kings (reigning in countries) extending to the sea." These kings were very likely the southern Śilāhāras who were ruling on the western coast with Goa as their capital.

This King begot Shashtha, whom we identify with Chaturbhujā of the later inscriptions<sup>1</sup>. It was probably during Chaturbhujā's reign that the Kadambas of this branch finally established themselves as mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras. This King seems to have been a contemporary of Īṇivabēḍānga-dēva of the Hāṅgal Kadamba family, who, we know for certain, took part in the rebellion against the Rāshtrakūṭas. Chaturbhujā also very likely joined this grand coalition of the southern powers; or else we would not be able to account for the rise of the family as one of the feudatories of the Chalukyas in the 10th century. The original kingdom of the Goa Kadambas seems to have been the country to the south of the island of Goa including a part of Salsette and perhaps a strip of land extending towards the Western Ghats. Their capital was Chandrapura, the modern Chandor. This appears to be one of the most ancient towns in the Konkan, probably founded by Chandrāditya, a son of the Chalukya King Pulikēśi II<sup>2</sup>. This prince apparently ruled over the Konkan as a viceroy on behalf of his father. The ancient importance of the town could therefore be one of the

<sup>1</sup> Guhalla-deva II according to this inscription was the son of Shashtha. The former is said in other inscriptions of the family to be the son of Chaturbhujā, which shows that Chaturbhujā was the title of Shashtha. Archivo da Secretaria Geral do Governo, Pangim, *Moncoes do Reino*, No 93, fol. 1396. This Document was published by Xavier, *Descricao do Coqueiro, Arequeira e Moedas de Goa*, pp. 61-65; and also in *Gabinete Litterario das Fontainhas*, I.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Stuarts Gomes. *Chandrapur nao sera Chandor. Boletim Do Instituto Vasco da Gama* No 7 pp 41-42 Cf I A VIII p 45

causes for its being selected as the capital of the new chiefs. Indeed in the *Dvyāsharaya* a Sanskrit work which was probably written by the famous Jaina guru Hēmachandra in the 12th century, King Jayaquēśi (I) is said to have been ruling at Chandrapura<sup>1</sup>. Further the geographical situation of this town, on the left bank of the river straightly leading to the sea, must have enhanced its advantages as a capital. The memory of Guhalla-dēva, one of the early chiefs of the family, seems to have been perpetuated in modern Chandor, as his name is associated with one of the gates of the ancient fort. All these facts seem to point to Chandrapura as the pristine capital of the Goa Kadambas.

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<sup>1</sup> *I. A.*, IV, p. 233. This city is located in the Dekkan by Hemachandra, but here this word evidently means the whole of India south of the Narbada river and the Vindya mountains. Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 568, says that this city of Chandrapura mentioned by Hemachandra "has not been identified,—unless, perchance, the name is a Sanskritised form denoting Chandgad, the chief town of the mahal of that name in the Belgaum District." Dr. Fleet was not well acquainted with the geography of Goa, nor could he know in those early days of historical research in Karnataka that in the time of Jayakesi I the Kadamba Dynasty of Goa had not yet conquered the Belgaum District. The first stone inscription of these kings above the Ghauts belongs to Guhalla-deva III, and is found in the village of Kacaroli, Belgaum District. Cf. Appendix, III, No. 21.

## Guhalla-deva II

**G**uhalla-dēva was the son of King Chaturbhuja and of his Queen Akkā-dēvi<sup>1</sup>. An inscription of one of his successors describes him as "the eye of the Universe, of extensive majesty, on account of whose brilliance the masses of the darkness of his foes took to themselves an abode in the most dreadful caverns"<sup>2</sup>. The Marcella plates of his son Shashtha state that he was "an ornament of the race of the Kadambas. The atoms of dust from his lotus feet were playing on the rows of the heads of the humiliated kings of the seven Malayas"<sup>3</sup>. We may deduce from these remarks that he overcame the neighbouring rulers and extended the boundaries of his kingdom. These conquests, as the word "Malayas" seems to imply, probably consisted in the subjugation of a portion of the Western Ghats. This fact however should not lead us to conclude that he always acted on the offensive. The records clearly state that the infant Kadamba kingdom had to contend with many powerful enemies during this period. "He annihilated," says a copper-plate charter of his grandson Jayakēśi, "many wicked and cruel enemies of his crown and took possession of their riches and innumerable precious pearls"<sup>4</sup>. Nevertheless it is plain that when occasions of self-aggrandisement offered themselves, Guhalla-dēva did not hesitate to undertake offensive warfare. This is proved by the same charter when it records that "many kings and chiefs of powerful ports feared him, for they were afraid that he would deprive them of their power and kingdoms"<sup>5</sup>. The extent of his fame

<sup>1</sup> Appendix, III, No. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet, *Inscriptions relating to the Kadamba Kings of Goa, J.B.B.R.A.S.*, IX, p. 272.

<sup>3</sup> Appendix, III, No. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Archivo da Secretaria Geral do Governo-Pangim *Moncoes do Reino No* 93 fol 1396

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.



may be gathered from the remarks made about his rule in the Kadamba inscriptions. We have it in the charter of Jayakēśi that he diffused the dread of his arms in all directions even as the moon spreads her bright rays<sup>1</sup>. The Marcella inscription says that he spread his splendour by bringing the whole earth under one royal canopy<sup>2</sup>.

Guhalla-dēva appears in the Panjim plates of Jayakēśi I to have helped a Pallava King. The record says: "Who was the resort of the Pallava (kings), who were frightened on account of the gaping mouths of the jackals howling cruelly in their revelry of having tasted the juice of the besieged bodies; whose victory is still proclaimed by the battlefields, fierce on account of the arrangement of a multitude of skulls of the haughty kings in the surrounding regions opposed to him"<sup>3</sup>.

It is obvious from the above extract that during a war between the Pallava King and his enemies, the former suffered severe reverses at the hands of the latter, and was besieged in his own capital; whereupon Guhalla-dēva marched to his assistance and after vanquishing the besiegers raised the siege. But who this Pallava King was we are not able to say with certainty at the present stage of historical research. We may probably identify him with one of the Nolamba kings who were ruling at this time the Nolambavāḍi province. These Nolambas styled themselves Pallavas and were perhaps recognised as such by their neighbours<sup>4</sup>. The Nolamba King contemporary of Guhalla was Nolambādhirāja, who, we know, came into hostile contact with the Chōlas<sup>5</sup>. It may be that in one of these engagements he was hard pressed by the enemy, and he called in the assistance of Guhalla-dēva.

The inscriptions also speak of a pilgrimage made by Guhalla-dēva to the temple of Śrī Sōmēśvara. This was evidently the celebrated temple of Somnath in Saurāśṭra, which was well known as a place of pilgrimage throughout Hindustan from the earliest times. He seems to have sailed from his capital Chandrapura, situated on the left bank of the Parodā river. But hardly had he reached half way, when the mast of his ship broke and he was com-

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Appendix, III, No. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., No. 2.

<sup>4</sup> The Pallava dynasty had long before become extinct.

<sup>5</sup> Cf Rice *Mysore and Coorg* p 57

pelled to make his way to the nearest port on friendly terms with him. This was the port of Goa, where lived a rich Muhammadan merchant named Madumod who came to the help of the stranded King. "A native of this city," says the inscription, "named Madumod, of Taji origin, the wealthiest among all the sea-faring traders, a person of great wisdom, rendered a great and public service to the above-mentioned king Guhaldev". The record concludes that he gave the King "as much wealth as nobody in any part of the world not even a king, could offer" <sup>1</sup>.

The record while narrating this incident throws a flood of light on the condition of Goa in the 11th century. It is evident that it was not in the possession of the Kadambas at this time. It probably formed part of the southern Śilāhāra kingdom, which comprised the Koṅkaṇ Nine Hundred and the Iṛidige country. We learn for the first time from this record that Arab traders were already settled at Goa and were carrying on trade with the western world. For as Senhor Braganza Pereira has observed, Mudamod was very likely a Muhammadan merchant whose real name was Muhammad, and the fact that he was of Taji origin clearly shows that he originally came from Taji, a place in Arabia <sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Archivo da Secretaria Geral do Governo, Pangim, *Moncoes do Reino*, No. 93, fol. 1396.

<sup>2</sup> Braganza Pereira, *Oriente Portuguesa*, XVI, pp. 69-70.

## Shashtha-deva II

**S**hashtha-dēva was the son and successor of Guhaila-dēva<sup>1</sup>. He is variously known in the inscriptions as Shashtha, Chaṭṭa, Chaṭṭala and Chaṭṭaya<sup>2</sup>. We have already explained how Guhaila-dēva strengthened his position by reducing the neighbouring chieftains. Shashtha-dēva closely adhered to his father's policy. The result was that before the end of his reign he became the acknowledged master of the whole of the Koṅkan.

In this achievement Shashtha-dēva seems to have been helped by the dissensions that prevailed at this time between the northern and the southern branches of the Śilāhāra Dynasty. The inscriptions however, though they allude to this unhappy occurrence, do not disclose the names of the respective sovereigns that brought about this fatal conflict. Nevertheless if any inferences can be drawn from the extent of the territories of a dynasty at different periods of its history, it may be presumed that the struggle took place in the reign of the Northern Śilāhāra King Arikēsari. For we are told in his Thana charter that he, unlike his predecessors, ruled over the whole of the Koṅkan<sup>3</sup>. This shows that Arikēsari captured the latter territory from the southern Śilāhāras to whom, as we know, it originally belonged<sup>4</sup>. Our conclusion is

<sup>1</sup> *E. I.*, XIII, p. 309.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 309, 310; Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 567; Fleet, *Inscriptions relating to the Kadamba Kings of Goa*, *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, IX, p. 273.

<sup>3</sup> *Asiatic Researches*, I, p. 357.

<sup>4</sup> The records of these families show that the hereditary kingdom of the Northern Silaharas comprised the island of Salsette to the north of Bombay, and the adjoining territory commonly known as Kapardikadvipa or Kavadi-dvipa; while that of the southern Silaharas consisted of the Konkan Nine Hundred namely, the major portion of the present territory of Goa and the Irldige country, which probably included the Sawantwadi State and the Ratnagiri District. Cf. Fleet, *Kanarese Dy*, p. 538

further strengthened by the fact that the Southern Śilāhara dynasty became extinct at about this period with Rattaraja as its last ruler. Now this Rattaraja was a contemporary of the above mentioned Arikēsari<sup>1</sup>; which is a conclusive proof that the conflict arose during their rule. It must however be noted that though Arikēsari prevailed against his enemies in this war, and even succeeded in putting an end to their sway, the result was not an unmixed blessing for the northern Śilāhāras. For as the warfare had to be continued for a long time before the enemy was brought to complete subjection, this protracted struggle must have naturally weakened the power of the northern Śilāhāras by exhausting their resources. The calamity was further aggravated by the death of Arikēsari soon after, as in the reign of his infant son Chittarāja, the authority of the central government was greatly relaxed<sup>2</sup>.

This gave an opportunity for Shashtha-dēva to make a bid for the sovereignty of the Koṅkaṇ. Advancing from his capital Chandrapura, he first annexed the Koṅkaṇ Nine Hundred and then extending his conquests to the north subdued even Kavaḍi-dvīpa, the hereditary province of the Northern Śilāhāras. Referring to this expedition the Narēndra inscription of Jayakēśi II observes: "As he took Kavaḍi-dvīpa and many other regions, built a bridge with lines of ships reaching as far as Laṅkā, and claimed tribute among grim barbarians, exceedingly exalted was the dominion of the Kādamba sovereign, which many called a religious estate for the establishment (of the worship) of Rāma"<sup>3</sup>.

It is plain that the island of Laṅkā referred to in this inscription was not the island of Ceylon. This designation was metaphorically applied to the island of Goa, which on account of its situation

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<sup>1</sup> There is an inscription of Rattaraja, which gives him a date in the month Jyeshthā (May-June) of the Kilaka Samvatsara, S. S. 930, corresponding to A. D. 1008. The copper-plate charter of Arikēsari is dated in the month of Kartika (October-November) of the S. S. 930, i. e. A. D. 1017. *Asiatic Researches*, I, p. 357. He seems to have died about 1024 or 1025, since we see his son Chittaraja making a grant in 1026. Bhuler, *A Grant of Chittaraja-deva*, I. A., V, pp. 277, 280. Accordingly giving him a reign of 25 years, he must have come to the throne in A. D. 1000.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> *E. I.* XIII, p. 309

resembled the classic island of Sīmhala. This is probably the origin of the title of the Southern Śīlāhāras namely 'the best of the Sīmhala Kings'. The Kadamba chroniclers accepted this designation since the King of Goa had been vanquished by their sovereign, and they could flatter his vanity by comparing him to the hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, who defeated Rāvana, the Lord of Laṅkā. That this was their intention is clear from the Degamve inscription when it records that "the lord of Laṅkā was subdued by him," though "(he had) not (to his aid) the building of a bridge, nor the siege of a fortress, nor the efforts of the leaders of the monkey troops, nor yet the energy of the son of Vāsūmitra"<sup>1</sup>. It must however be said that the Lord of Laṅkā mentioned here does not refer to the King of the Southern Śīlāhāras, who, as we have seen, had already been dispossessed of their kingdom, but to the northern Śīlāhāra ruler, who possibly in conformity with the usual practice of adopting the titles of the defeated monarchs had styled himself "the lord of Laṅkā."

Shashtha-dēva however did not wish to exterminate the northern Śīlāhāra power. What he wanted was to make them acknowledge his overlordship, and when this was agreed to he restored to them their original kingdom, namely the province of Kavaḍi-dvīpa. This we gather from the Narēndra inscription which, speaking of Shashtha-dēva, remarks; "When the exalted valour of Chaṭṭaya dēva in his sport upon the ocean reached him, Mammuri of the famous Thāṇeya, hearing of it came into his presence, saw him, led him to his palace, and displayed intense affection, and he bestowed on him his daughter with much pomp and gave to his son-in-law five lakhs of gold"<sup>2</sup>.

It follows from the above extract that the Śīlāhāras ever since their defeat in the reign of Chittarāja had been feudatories of King Shashtha. Hence when he visited their court in the time of Mammuri, the third brother of Chittarāja, the former treated him with great respect befitting a suzerain lord and as a token of his esteem he gave him his own daughter in marriage. The composer of the inscription gives us an insight into the thoughts of Mammuri at that psychological moment. "As though saying," he writes, " 'To what other man that will repay me again with cor-

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Inscriptions relating to the Kadamba Kings of Goa*, J.B.B.R.A.S., IX, p. 272.

<sup>2</sup> E. I., XIII. p. 310.

responding kindness rather than this Lord of the Ocean can I do it? King Mammuri duly bestowed a garland on King Chattaya amidst the approval of the world, bearing... as a brilliant example of liberality and a *jhampaḷ-āchārya*"<sup>1</sup>. This conduct of Mammuri towards his overlord Shashtha-dēva has an exact parallel in the treatment given by Jayakēśi I, the son of Shahstha-dēva to his overlord the Chalukya Emperor Vikramāditya Pērmāḍi-dēva. The same Narēndra inscription affirms that when the latter visited his kingdom, Jayakēśi I, went to meet him, and bestowed on him his daughter, together with "abundant ornaments, many damsels, a treasury, and wedding-gifts without count"<sup>2</sup>.

Another interesting fact mentioned about Shashtha-dēva is that he made a voyage to the land of Saurāṣṭra. "When gardens on every side", the inscription relates, "white plastered houses, alleys, horse-stables, flower gardens, agreeably connected bazars, harlots' quarters, and tanks were charming the eye, the Lord of the Ocean (Chattaya) duly proceeded on (his ships) over the sea in sport, along with (the whole population) of Gove with great pomp as far as the land of Surashtra". This voyage to Saurāṣṭra reminds us of the one made by his father Guhalla-dēva. It was evidently a pilgrimage made to the temple of Somnath, for the same inscription says that on this occasion Shashtha-dēva fixed a lower price for rootcamphor, so that all might partake of the worship of "the lord Somanatha"<sup>3</sup>. He also seems to have visited other sacred shrines such as Gōkarṇa and the Mahālakshmi temple at Kolhapur<sup>4</sup>.

It is clear from what has been said that Shashtha-dēva was as great a ruler as his father had been. Consequently it is not strange, if we find that all the records that speak of him pay a rich tribute to his kingly qualities. "He became gloriously manifest", says the Degamve record of one of his successors, "as if he were a sixth among the bulls of the Pāṇḍavas in the Kaliyuga to destroy the force of Duryōdhana"<sup>5</sup>. The Goa charter of his son Jayakēśi I states that he was successful in war like a lion among elephants and that he was the veritable column of the world<sup>6</sup>. We have already mentioned that

<sup>1</sup> E. I., XII, p. 310.

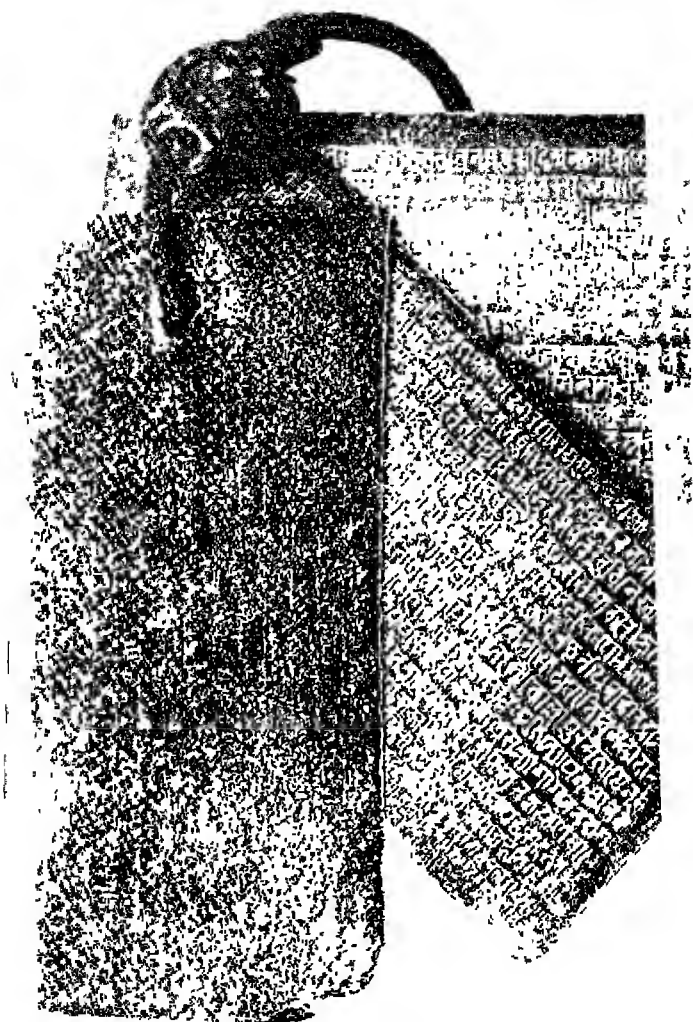
<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 309

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

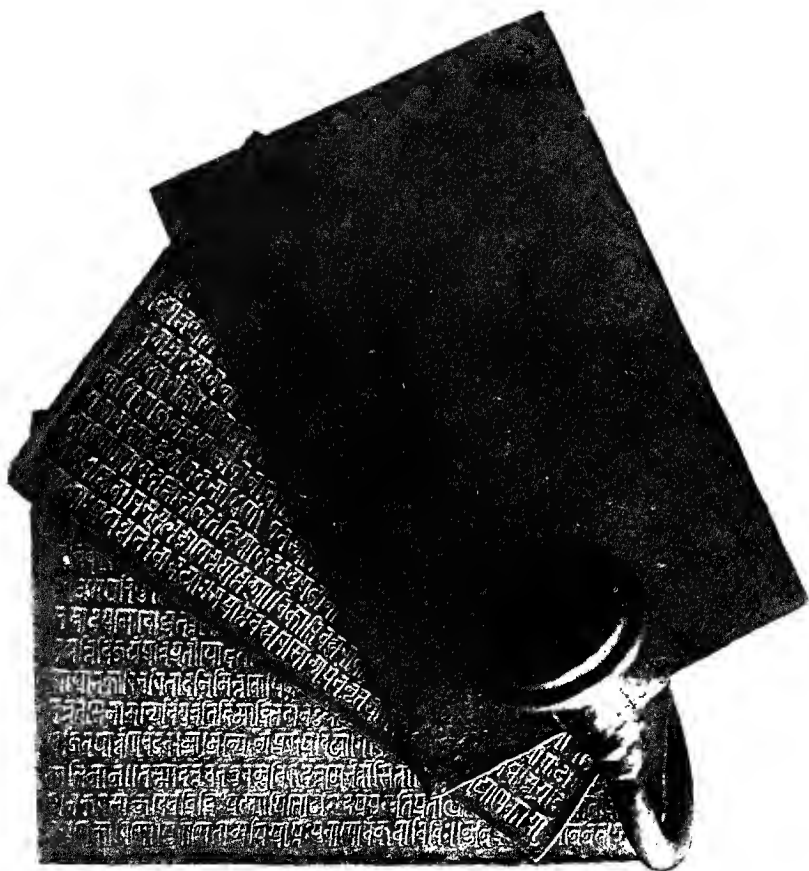
<sup>4</sup> Appendix, III, No. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Fleet, *Inscriptions relating to the Kadamba Kings of Goa, J.B.B.R.A.S.*, IX, p. 272.

<sup>6</sup> Archivo da Secretaria Geral do Governo, Pangim, *Moncoes do Reino*, No 93, fol. 1396.



8. Marcella Copper-plates of Shashtha-dēva II.  
Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, E



### 9. Panjim Copper-plates of Jayakēśi I.

Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay.